



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

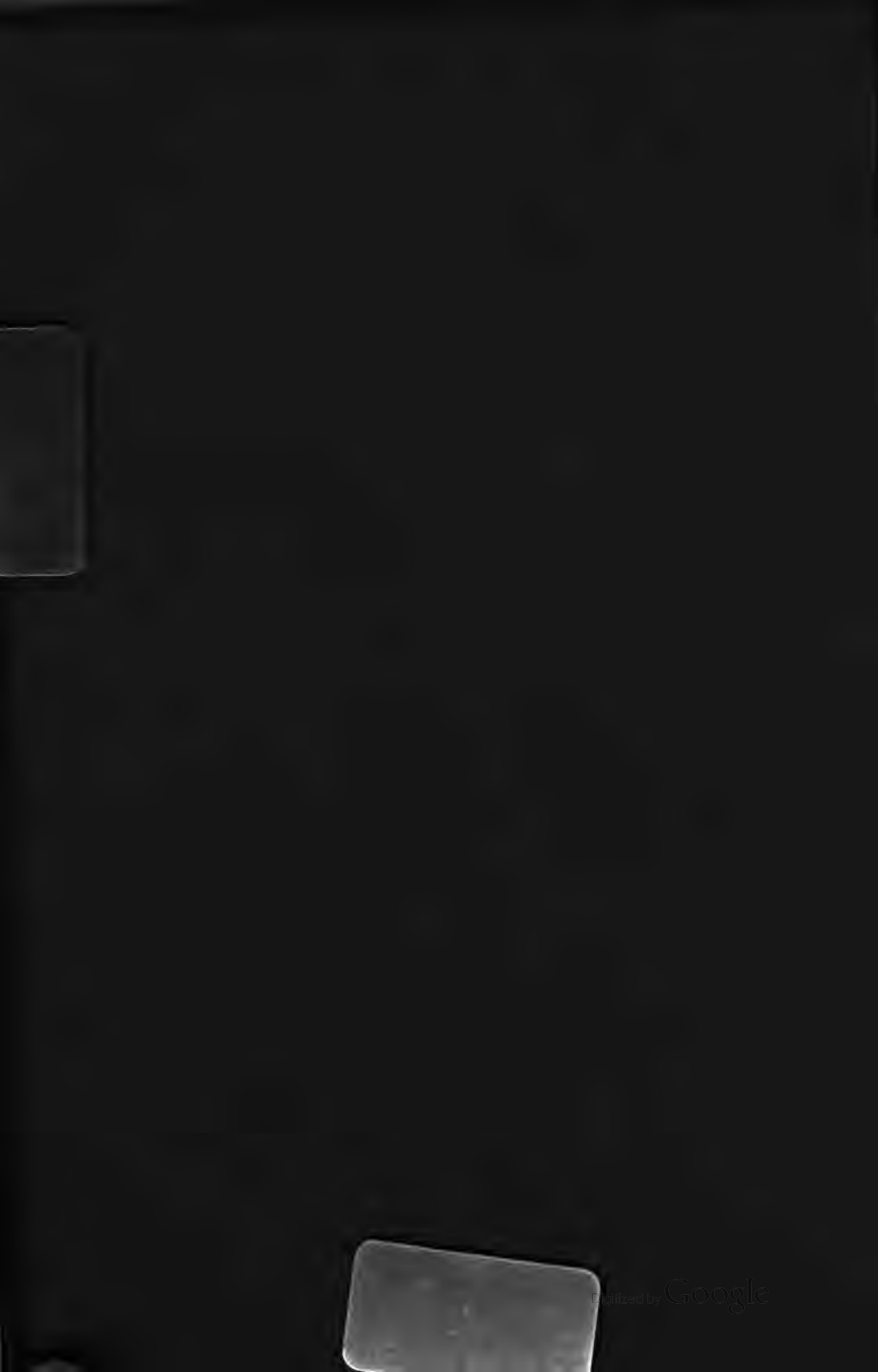
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



Wickham Legg
1886.

Dec. 1921

120

£.

22

DISSERTATIONS

ON

SUBJECTS RELATING

TO THE

“ORTHODOX” OR “EASTERN-CATHOLIC” COMMUNION.

BY WILLIAM PALMER, M.A.,

FELLOW OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND DEACON.

LONDON:

JOSEPH MASTERS, ALDERSGATE STREET,
AND NEW BOND STREET.

MDCCCLIII.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY JOSEPH MASTERS AND CO.,
ALDERSGATE STREET.



TO THE
CENSORS OF THE PRESS IN RUSSIA,
OR TO
WHATEVER AUTHORITIES, SPIRITUAL OR CIVIL, ARE ABOVE THE CENSORS,
This Volume is submitted,
WITH THE WISH TO LEARN WHETHER A TRANSLATION OF IT
WOULD BE PERMITTED TO APPEAR IN THAT COUNTRY.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
DISSERTATION I.	
Of the distinctive title, present state, and apparent prospects of the "Orthodox" Communion	1
DISSERTATION II.	
Of the present apparent conflict between "Orthodoxy" and "Catholicism"	9
DISSERTATION III.	
The Aspect of the Russian part of the "Orthodox" Church at the com- mencement of the Reformation of Luther; being "An Account of the religion of the Muscovites, written by John Faber for Ferdmand King of the Romans, to whom he was Confessor," A.D. 1525	32
DISSERTATION IV.	
Destinies of the Slavonic Empire.—Probation and failure of John IV. (the first solemnly crowned Tsar of Muscovy) in the sixteenth century	46
DISSERTATION V.	
Destinies of the Slavonic Empire.—Probation and failure of the Tsar Alexis Michaëlovich, with the Nobility and Hierarchy of Russia, in the seven- teenth century	54
DISSERTATION VI.	
Of Civil Government, Obedience, and Liberty, in relation to orthodox Christianity	74

DISSERTATION VII.

PAGE

Reflections on the right method of conducting religious controversy . . . 96

DISSERTATION VIII.

Remarks on the present state of particular controversies between the " Orthodox " and the " Roman-Catholic " Churches	102
I. Of the Procession of the HOLY SPIRIT	102
II. Of the Roman and Papal Supremacy	106
III. Of Western Baptisms without Trine Immersion	107
IV. Of the Controversy respecting Priests applying the Holy Chrism	113
V. Of Azymes	117
VI. Of the Form of Consecration in the Liturgy	118
VII. Of the position of the Great Oblation	121
VIII. Of Communion under one kind only	123
IX. Of the state of the Saints before the last Judgment	124
X. Of Purgatory	124
XI. Of Indulgences	126
XII. Of the Last Unction	130
XIII. Of the Celibacy of the Clergy	132
XIV. Of the Latin Fasts	132
XV. Of the free use of the Holy Scriptures	135
XVI. Of Church Services in a tongue no longer understood by the people	136
XVII. Of Persecution	139
XVIII. Of the existence of reputed Saints and Miracles in both Com- munities	143
XIX. Of Immutability and Novelty, as characteristic of the two Churches respectively	144

DISSERTATION IX.

Of the bearing of the theory of Doctrinal Development on the controversy
between the Orthodox and the Roman-Catholic Churches 147

DISSERTATION X.

On the Controversy respecting the Procession of the HOLY GHOST . 154

DISSERTATION XI.

Certain Opinions prevalent in the Greek part of the Eastern Orthodox Church respecting Baptism 163

DISSERTATION XII.

PAGE

- Translation of a Memorial presented to the Patriarch of Constantinople,
Kyr Kyr Anthimus, July the 24th, N.S., 1851 178

DISSERTATION XIII.

- Four Documents, three against and one for the practice of rebaptizing
Western Christians 184
- I. Extracts from the "Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch,"
(being a narrative of that Patriarch's first journey to and stay
in Russia, from A.D. 1654 to 1656,) written by his Archdeacon,
Paul, in Arabic, and published in English by the Oriental Trans-
lation Fund 184
 - II. Extracts from the MS. Acts of the Synod held at Moscow, A.D.
1666—1667, for the deposition of the Patriarch Nikon 188
 - III. "A Letter [dated August 31, 1718,] to the Emperor Peter I.
from Jeremiah III., Patriarch of Constantinople, directing that
Lutherans and Calvinists coming over to the Orthodox Greek
Faith are not to be rebaptized, but are to be anointed with Holy
Chrism" 197
 - IV. "A Constitution of the Holy Church of CHRIST [A.D. 1756]
defending the Holy Baptism given from GOD, and spitting upon
the Baptisms of the heretics which are otherwise administered" . 199

DISSERTATION XIV.

- Of the word and doctrine of Transubstantiation 204

DISSERTATION XV.

- Of the necessity of Confession to a Priest 227

DISSERTATION XVI.

- On the Septenary Number of the Mysteries or Sacraments 236

DISSERTATION XVII.

- Of the Invocation and Worship of Saints, and especially of the Blessed
Virgin 244

DISSERTATION XVIII.

- Of the Worship or Veneration of Icons and Relics 261

	PAGE
DISSERTATION XIX.	
Of Credulity and Superstition	272
DISSERTATION XX.	
Of Formalism, as imputed to the Eastern Church	284
DISSERTATION XXI.	
Of the parallel and contrast existing between the Reforming Sectaries of the West and the Anti-Reforming Sectaries of the East of Europe . . .	296
DISSERTATION XXII.	
An Enumeration of certain things which seem to be desirable for the Eastern Orthodox Church	305
DISSERTATION XXIII.	
Of the duty of making special concerted Prayers for the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches : And of a future Œcumenical Synod . . .	312
DISSERTATION XXIV.	
Of the Apocalyptic Epistles addressed to the Seven Churches of Asia . . .	322

DISSERTATIONS

ON SUBJECTS RELATING TO THE

"ORTHODOX" COMMUNION.

DISSERTATION I.

OF THE DISTINCTIVE TITLE, PRESENT STATE, AND APPARENT
PROSPECTS OF THE "ORTHODOX" COMMUNION.

AFTER the destruction of the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem four heathen nations, the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Greek, and the Roman, successively subjugated and occupied the fairest portion of the then inhabited earth, (τῆς οἰκουμένης,) the portion which contained within itself the germs of that human civilization, and of that divine religion which were in after ages to overspread the whole globe.

None of those four nations ever really ruled over the whole inhabited earth, or the whole earth then built upon with fixed dwellings; but all of them claimed and aspired after universal empire; each of them in turn swallowed up and surpassed in extent of dominion its predecessor; and each in turn gave or continued the name of "the world" (τῆς οἰκουμένης) to that portion of the world (the most central and the most important) which owned its sway.

In the days of the fourth Empire, the Roman, the Most High set up a fifth Empire, the kingdom of heaven upon earth, or, in other words, the Christian Church, which aspired, like those four which it followed and in part supplanted, to subject to itself the whole habitable earth, that is, to become visibly oecumenical, universal, or Catholic, in respect of places, and countries, and

nations, and invisibly or spiritually universal in a still wider sense, embracing retrospectively and prospectively the elect of all races and of every religious dispensation.

The *οικουμένη* or world of the Roman Empire, being a compact mass, and consisting of the countries lying around the Mediterranean, was from the foundation of Constantinople or new Rome divided into two great halves or lobes, the "Eastern" and the "Western," Empires within an Empire, at first united, afterwards separate and even hostile; in one of which the Greek, in the other the Latin tongue predominated.

The Christian Church converting and incorporating into itself the population of the Roman *world*, and triumphing openly in the time of Constantine, and thenceforth entering into close relations with the civil Empire, became itself also œcumenical in the Roman sense, that is, the Church of the Roman *world*, (*τῆς οἰκουμένης*), and with the Roman Empire came to be outwardly distinguishable into two great masses or lobes, the "Eastern" and the "Western," the "Greek" and the "Latin."

The *Western* Roman Empire being overrun by barbarous nations came to an end; but its language, laws, and civilization, and the religion of its Christian inhabitants being communicated to those nations which overran it, it was in a certain sense restored and revived in the Frankish and in the German-Roman Empires of the West. Thus the *οικουμένη* or habitable world, instead of being curtailed, expanded with the changes of the West; and the Church which expanded with it, and which was in great measure the cause of its expansion, still preserved its aspect of *Western* geographically, of *Latin* in ritual and language, and of *Roman* from the seat of its central government.

From the middle of the ninth at the earliest, or of the eleventh century at the latest, the Churches of the original Eastern and of the renewed Western Empire, which had been before as two great lobes of one body, were separated in communion the one from the other. Still, the idea of there being but one *οικουμένη* or civilized world, consisting of the double Roman Empire, survived; and also the idea of there being but one Church, corresponding to the œcumenicity of the double Roman Empire, and aspiring in principle to be also Catholic or universal in the widest sense, subsisted still *on both sides*.

The Western part of the civil and religious "world" lost some ground in Africa and in Spain from the inroads of the infidels, and gained still more by the accession of the Teutonic and Scandinavian nations, *partly after* but *chiefly before* the separation of the two Churches. The Eastern part of the civil and religious world suffered much greater losses from the inroads of heresy and Mahometanism, and gained more in extent, but less in population, by the gradual accession of the Slavonian tribes and countries; and these losses and gains of the Eastern Church occurred *partly before* but *mainly after* the separation of the two Churches.

With some inconsiderable and temporary exceptions, those civil and religious developments and expansions which arose out of the destruction and restoration of the Empire of the West and the conversion of the Teutonic nations, continued to be geographically *Western* in relation to the Eastern Empire and Church. And those expansions of Christianity and of the ideal civil *οικουμένη*, or world, towards the North, which were owing to the Eastern Church and Empire, were all still geographically *Eastern* in relation to the Western Church, so that these two distinctive epithets of "Eastern" and "Western" down to the fall of Constantinople in the fifteenth century lost nothing of their *relative* propriety.

In like manner, the Western developments and expansions carried with them everywhere both ecclesiastically and civilly the use of the Latin tongue, the Latin ritual, and much of Latin law and civilization. And the Eastern expansions carried with them ecclesiastically if not the Greek tongue yet at least the Greek ritual, and civilly from the first much of Græco-Roman law and civilization, and eventually (after the fall of Constantinople in 1453,) the idea of a Slavonic representation, restoration, and enlargement of the Græco-Eastern Empire analogous to the revival and enlargement of the Latin Western Empire by the Franks and Germans.

Thus the two Churches, which originally corresponded to the two lobes of one united Roman "world" and Empire, and whose union outlasted the civil separation of the East and West, survived at length each of them those parts or subordinate Empires in the Roman duality with which they had been respectively connected,

and came to be associated with a new civil duality, the German Latin and the Græco-Slavonic, in a wider and expanded world or *οικουμένη*, without there ensuing in consequence down to the end of the fifteenth century any change of relative attitude in the two bodies, or any considerable impropriety in the continued application of their former distinctive titles of Greek and Latin, Western and Eastern, to each Communion respectively.

But the discovery of America, the circumnavigation of the globe, the vast extension of commerce, conquests, and colonies, over all parts of its surface, has expanded the ideal *οικουμένη* to its natural and utmost possible extent. The "world," the habitable or civilized world, that world, or society, which has been expanded and improved out of the "world" of the Roman Empire, is now, though not equally so in all parts, nor reduced under one rule, yet in a true sense commensurate with the accessible surface of our planet. And Christianity having had the benefit of this vast expansion, and having become in some sense commensurate with the new and modern *οικουμένη*, that is, with the whole surface of the habitable globe, the result is that the distinctive terms of "Eastern" and "Western" as applied to any particular Churches or Communions can have no longer any geographical but only an historical propriety. And the relative position of the two Churches themselves has hereby undergone a most material change. Instead of two great compact masses of Christians lying the one over against the other, their duality of language, rite, races, and geographical position corresponding with the two halves of what was practically considered as the world, nearly equal in the number of their Bishops and Christians, balancing one another in vicissitudes of fortunes, in their gains and losses, we have since the sixteenth century one Church only of the two become something like universal, incapable in consequence of being called any longer with geographical propriety "*Western*" by its rival, and incapacitating its rival from being any longer called "*Eastern*" with respect to it, embracing, surrounding, interpenetrating, and overwhelming the other from on all sides; while that which was before the Eastern remains sullenly on the defensive, one compact territorial mass as before; an enormous mass in ex-

tent, no doubt, but without any prospect of rivalling the quasi-universality of the Roman Communion.

The titles of "Greek" and "Latin" too have lost much of their distinctive propriety when applied to the two rival Communion. A Communion which now contains within its pale millions of Christians using Liturgies of Oriental origin in the Greek, Syriac, Armenian, and other tongues, cannot be called strictly or exclusively *Latin*. Nor can a Communion which embraces several other nations and languages besides the Greek, each performing Divine worship in its own tongue, and in which, out of seventy millions of Christians, perhaps sixty-four millions are Slavonians, and pray in the Slavonic tongue, be properly called *Greek*, merely because its ritual is derived in great measure (by no means exclusively,) from Greek sources, and because it was once (and that not within its present limits,) closely united with the Græco-Roman Empire.

At the present day the only distinctive epithets in use which are not manifestly inapplicable or defective are those of "*Roman*," "*Roman-Catholic*," or "*Catholic*" on the one side, and those of "*Orthodox-Catholic*," or "*Orthodox*" on the other. The titles of "*Catholic*" and "*Orthodox*" are indeed claimed and used by both Communion; but practically the one side insists on the title and idea of *Catholicism*, the other on the title and idea of *Orthodoxy*. And it is this latter word, and the idea which it represents, which must sooner or later come into final conflict with the word and idea of *Catholicism*, as evolving itself from the Roman Supremacy.

And thus much of distinctive titles. We may now offer a brief sketch of the present state and probable future prospects of the so-called "Orthodox" Communion.

This Communion in respect of population has now about seventy million souls, under rather less than three hundred Bishops. It has five Patriarchates; of which one, that of Alexandria, the first anciently in dignity after old Rome, has now only five thousand souls, and one suffragan Bishop, while the most recent, that of Russia, has perhaps fifty million souls; that of Constantinople having eleven million, that of Antioch fifty thousand, and that of Jerusalem twenty-five thousand. There are also several lesser independent or *autocephalous*

Churches, as those of Cyprus, of Austrian Servia, of Montenegro, and of the kingdom of Greece, and the Lavra of Mount Sinai. Six languages are used in this Communion in the Services of the Church on a large scale, namely, the Hellenic, Georgian, Slavonic, Arabic, Wallachian, and Turkish; and three or four more may be used in particular localities, namely, the Lettish, Esthonian, German, and Chaldean or Syriac. In the Turkish Empire the hierarchy are jealously controlled by an infidel power, and cannot proselytize, nor even educate freely their own people. They cannot hold synods. Yet they exercise by concession from the infidel government a certain jurisdiction over their people, from whom they are required as tax gatherers to collect certain dues which were formerly payable under the Greek Emperors for their own support. In Austria the "Orthodox" are under a Roman-Catholic Christian government, which without any very outrageous violence has found means to unite more than three millions of Christians originally "Orthodox" to the Roman Church. A like success had attended in former times the efforts of the Sovereigns of Poland and Lithuania; and still attends, on a smaller scale, those of the French Consuls in Syria and other parts of the Levant. In the Russian Empire the "Orthodox" Church is governed by a standing spiritual Synod, the members of which, seven or eight in number, are nominated and removed by the Crown: nor are any other synods of the Clergy permitted to meet for deliberation, or to make canons. All the officers or servants of the Synod, and those of the Diocesan Bishops, are nominated, paid, and removed by the civil government, and are under its immediate orders: and all the real and funded property belonging to the Church, as well as all Educational funds and establishments, spiritual as well as secular, are under the control of the same.

The population of that territorial area which is occupied by the "Orthodox" Church is "Orthodox" in very different proportions. In Great Russia it may be regarded as almost one homogeneous mass. In the Danubian provinces also, and in the kingdom of Greece, the "Orthodox" form the great bulk of the population. In Georgia, and in European Turkey, the "Orthodox" Christians are as two-thirds of the whole, the remaining third being Mahometan. In Austrian Servia they

are mixed with Uniats and other Roman-Catholics. In Asiatic Turkey they are a small minority; while in Egypt and Syria they hardly exist as a native population, being outnumbered not only by the Monophysites, but also in many places even by the Uniats or others of the Roman-Catholic Communion.

Such being the present state of the "Orthodox" Communion, its destinies may be said to be practically wrapped up with those of the Slavonic race, and so again with those of the Russian Empire. And we may affirm it to be probable that in the course of time it will, through the Russian power, regain the whole of those countries which formerly constituted the Græco-Eastern Empire; and not only so, but that it will cover the whole of Asia to the uttermost shores of the Eastern and Southern Ocean; while North America, Australia, and the vast and numerous islands scattered between New Holland and China, will be filled by a people or race partly Protestant or infidel, and partly Roman-Catholic, of Anglo-British origin.

It is also highly probable that the ignorance and want of education and learning now complained of among the "Orthodox" Clergy of the Levant will gradually disappear under more favourable circumstances, and that they, no less than their brethren the Russian Clergy, will become worthy of being compared with the most enlightened Clergy of the West.

Looking forward to such a development of the "Orthodox" Church, there will still remain to be considered the following questions:

After all, will not the "Orthodox" Communion, when it shall have spread over the whole of Asia, be as far as ever from being visibly universal or Catholic in that sense in which the Roman-Catholic Communion is universal even now?

Will it even then send out missionaries, or will its missionaries have any success, beyond the limits of the Russian or other "Orthodox" empires or states?

Will it be more able than it has been hitherto to preserve any part of its population which may pass under a Roman-Catholic ruler from being persuaded or forced to submit to Rome?

Will it evolve from among its clergy any enlightened and zealous reaction against the spread of that immorality and infidelity which accompanies civilization, such as we have seen in

the Western Church, and especially in the Gallican, which at the very time that France, as a nation, was apostatizing from Christianity, could send out missionaries to preach the Gospel in China?

Will its relations to the civil power in the immense Slavonic Empire, or in the states into which after centuries that Empire may be divided, be such as are compatible with the true mission and spiritual efficiency of an Apostolic Hierarchy? Or, will it be upon the whole the political instrument of a worldly or infidel state-supremacy, which will find its only antagonist in the Roman Pontiff, and which, being raised to such an unparalleled height of worldly greatness, will attempt to put down by force Roman-Catholic Christianity, and so, perhaps, set a crowning seal to its truth?

These are the questions which will suggest themselves to the mind of any Latin who feels his own strength in the word and idea and consciousness of "Catholicism," and who cannot contemplate any other alternative; such as that of Russian Emperors and Bishops returning from the spirit and examples of the Peters, Catherines, Procopoviches, and Leforts, to the spirit and principles of such sovereigns as St. Vladimir, and Vladimir Monomachus, Alexander Nefsky, Demetrius Donskoy, and Michael Theodorovich, of such counsellors as the priest Silvester and Alexis Adasheff, and of such hierarchs as the Patriarch Nikon.

DISSERTATION II.

ON THE PRESENT APPARENT CONFLICT BETWEEN "ORTHO-DOXY" AND "CATHOLICISM."

As there is one GOD and FATHER, one LORD JESUS CHRIST, one HOLY GHOST, and one Baptism, so also there is One Body of the Church, the essential attributes of which are all inseparably united together. The Church is *Holy*: the same Church is *Catholic*, or *Universal*: the same is *Apostolic*: the same is *Orthodox*, or *rightly-believing*: the same is *One*. If there can be two Gods, one *Almighty* and the other *all-merciful*, then there may be two Churches, one *Catholic* or *Universal*, and the other *Orthodox*.

Yet at a certain point of time, or between two certain points of time, we see that great body of the visible Catholic or Œcumenical Church, which from the division of the Œcumenical Roman Empire (τῆς οἰκουμένης,) was distinguished superficially into two branches, Eastern and Western, Greek and Latin, without detriment to its essential unity, splitting into two separate and hostile communities, one of which insisting upon "*Orthodoxy*" was nevertheless unable to enforce that Orthodoxy upon the consciences of men by the weight of manifest *Catholicism*, the other insisting at the time on the Roman pre-eminence and the indivisible unity of the Church (and now also upon the note of a greater appearance of Catholicism,) was little careful or able to meet the charge brought against it with regard to Orthodoxy.

The Eastern section of Christendom in condemning the Latins urged openly that they had become *heterodox*, and assumed or implied tacitly that therefore they could not be *Catholic*, while their own Eastern Church, in spite of any appearances to her

disadvantage, *must be also Catholic*, because she was unquestionably *Orthodox*. The Latins retorted that having on their side the See of Peter (to which was attached the unity and Catholicity of the Church), they must therefore, in spite of any appearances to their disadvantage, be also Orthodox, while the Easterns refusing to follow them, and so breaking off from unity, could not really have any advantage in respect of Orthodoxy, whatever appearances they might think they had in their favour.

Each side had its own strong point, on which it insisted: neither side answered fairly or adequately to the objection of the other. Each alike dissembled the point of its own apparent disadvantage, and trusted to that point on which it felt itself strong to overbalance and hide its weakness.

Under such circumstances if the two contending bodies had been at the first equal in strength the one to the other, and had remained so since, the two forces would have absolutely neutralized one another, and it would have seemed to us now that either there is no such thing in existence as the Church of the *Creed*, at once Orthodox and universal, (the two destroying one another,) or else that the two conflicting bodies are both equally the Church, that is parts of the Church, their conflict and external separation being only a superficial accident and disease, and not reaching to the essential orthodoxy and Catholicity inherent in them both.

But whatever may have seemed to be the case at the first separation, when the two sides were in point of extent and in the number of their Bishops nearly equal, (though even then the dignity of the elder Rome and the pre-eminence of the See and Martyrion of Peter turned the balance of mere authority much in favour of the West,) there is certainly no such equality existing now. As time has gone on the evidences of Eastern superiority in respect of Orthodoxy have remained much what they were, while changes have taken place in the world and in Christendom which have greatly increased the advantages of the Westerns in respect of Catholicism.

The so-called "*Catholic*" or "*Roman-Catholic*" Church appears now plainly *to all men* to be really Catholic or universally diffused (and this is *one part at least* of the idea of Catholicism,) in a

degree in which the so-called "*Orthodox*" Church does *not* appear to be so. This is a *fact*, about which there can be no doubt, and no mistake. But on the other side it is *only to those who think so* that the so-called "*Orthodox*" Church appears to be really orthodox in a degree in which the so-called "*Catholic*" Church does not appear to be so; or that the apparent identity of the spirit of domination in Christian Rome with that of Pagan Rome, and the perpetual self-preaching of the Roman See seem to be strong arguments against the Roman side.

If one is forced to choose upon such data alone, it is clear that we may more easily and more properly suspect of error even the strongest convictions of individuals or minorities as to a deep question of orthodoxy or heterodoxy, than doubt the common sense and sight of all men as to the advantage of superior visible Catholicity, which is a plain matter of fact.

Either then our personal or inherited opinion that the self-called "*Orthodox*" Church is really orthodox, and the self-called "*Catholic*" Church heterodox, must be sacrificed and reversed, so as to make a superior Orthodoxy about which we *can* doubt submit to a superior Catholicism about which we *cannot* doubt; or else, if we cannot rid ourselves of our convictions, and yet see the absurdity of supposing a greater *apparent* Catholicism to be for centuries opposed to *true* Catholicism and to Orthodoxy, we must infer that the opinion and assumption of there being an essential difference between the two sides (seeing that it leads to such difficulties and absurdities,) is itself false: and we must reconcile the conflicting phenomena of superior Orthodoxy on the one side and superior Catholicism on the other by supposing that the quarrel and schism of the East and West, of the Greeks and Latins, is superficial only, and not essential; and that in some way or other both parts together have continued since their quarrel to constitute the Universal Church, just as they did before the quarrel; and that their true inward unity has no more been broken by their long-standing outward schism, than the true inward unity of the Latin Church was suspended or broken by its disruption into two or even three outward Obediences during seventy years, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Against such an hypothesis as this there are, no doubt, formidable objections:

In the first place the Latins, fully conscious of their own advantage in the present position of the controversy, will be forward to argue that the outward as well as inward unity of the Church is necessarily always visible and perfect, or, at the least, not liable to *such* obscuration and interruption as this theory supposes, nor for so long a time : that the theory in question is clearly and peremptorily rejected by both parties ; so that any one maintaining it rests upon the merest private judgment against all that either is or pretends to be authority : in fine, that one must *choose* simply between the two. If it is *impossible* to embrace as œcumenical an "Orthodoxy" which plainly is not œcumenical, you must be content to stifle all misgivings and receive as orthodox a "Catholicism" which *may possibly* be orthodox, even though it has strong appearances, and the voice of a large *minority*, and private judgment against it.

The Easterns, on the other hand, little used to abstract controversy, are either insensible to the disadvantages of their theological position, and careless to improve it ; or, if they ever feel that Rome has some advantage, this excites only a perplexity and indignation like what they may feel at the temporary exaltation and tyranny of infidel Empires. Truth, they say, is not at any moment, nor even during any given course of centuries, to be measured by mere geographical extent, or by numbers : nor, so long as God's promises given to the true Church are generally and sufficiently accomplished to Orthodoxy, is another community, which plainly rebels against the œcumenical law, to be preferred merely because it is larger, even though it may continue to be larger for centuries. Rather, on the contrary, the very zeal of those who are perpetually crying, "The Temple of the LORD, the Temple of the LORD, the Temple of the LORD are we," and who in this zeal are ever compassing sea and land to make one proselyte, is a great sign that they are far from the true Temple of the LORD, and rather like to the Jews of old, who boasting of the Temple, and confidently identifying it with themselves as children of Abraham, but making it subservient to their own wills, destroyed the true Temple, and crucified as a blasphemer against the Temple the LORD of the Temple Himself. While, on the other hand, the Orthodox, though failing greatly, no doubt, in respect of that zeal and charity which they

ought to show for the conversion of the world, and for the reunion in one of all Christians, yet in this are faulty only as almost all men in this evil age (and the Latins equally with others,) are faulty with respect to all virtues and duties which are simply debts to God and man, and which find no adventitious incitements from interest, ambition, or rivalry, within ourselves.

This is what is said on both sides : and once more we must allow that the Latin arguments are the stronger. For, in spite of all that can be said, if the true Church is "*a city set on a hill, which cannot be hid,*" it must be perplexing to the eyes of a man seeking the true Church to see at once two hills and two cities more or less answering in appearance to what he seeks : and it must sound paradoxical to such an one to hear himself invited to the smaller city and to the lesser hill, rather than to the greater. Even a Greek Christian must feel this, if he chances to hear a member of the Nestorian Church, now reduced to sixty thousand souls in the mountains of Kurdistan, use his own argument that the true Church is not to be discerned by mere extent or numbers. And though there is, doubtless, a vast difference between the self-called "Orthodox" Church and the Nestorian, yet, so far as this argument goes, the difference is not in kind but only in degree. They are both *minorities* ; the one a very small, the other a very large minority ; the one making a preposterous demand, the other a less exorbitant demand on private judgment to unite with it against a greater apparent authority. But if a *certain degree* of inferiority in numbers and extent reduces the claim of the Nestorian Church to an absurdity, then it is clear that *any* degree of such inferiority must involve *some* disadvantage to that Church or side to which it attaches. And that this is so is further shown by the fact that men of virtue and piety are often found to pass from the Eastern to the Roman-Catholic Communion : and such men almost always give this as their chief reason, that the apparent authority and universality of the Roman-Catholic Church outweighs the self-asserted Orthodoxy of the Easterns who are only a *minority* : while no instance, perhaps, or scarcely any instance, can be adduced even of an individual Latin Bishop, Priest, or layman of acknowledged piety and learning passing over to the Eastern

Church from a conviction that it alone is Orthodox, and therefore, in spite of all appearances, also Catholic.

Notwithstanding, however, the above objections from the two sides, and the confessed advantage of the Latins if one is forced to a choice, the theory that the two bodies together constitute the Catholic Church may still be true, and to be accepted. The existence of great difficulties and objections against it is no reason for rejecting it, unless we are also convinced that those difficulties and objections are *greater* than those which make against either the exclusive Greek or the exclusive Latin theory.

For, without describing them at length, it is plain that the phænomena of the Eastern Church (to say nothing of internal phænomena within the Latin Church herself, or of the view any man may take of particular controversies,) do oppose *considerable difficulties* to the exclusive Latin theory, difficulties not to be summarily dismissed in a couple of lines. On the other hand, it is also plain that the phænomena of the Latin or Roman-Catholic Church oppose *still greater difficulties* to the exclusive Eastern theory. The question then is not whether the difficulties and objections making against the third theory (that the two Churches are after all intrinsically one, and their estrangement only superficial,) are *great*, but whether they are *greater* than those which lie against either the exclusive Greek or the exclusive Latin theory, and especially against the latter which is confessed to be the stronger of the two.

If any one agrees with the writer that, *upon the whole*, the difficulty of supposing that the Greek and Latin Churches together still continue to constitute now after their quarrel, as before, the universal Church, is *less* than the difficulty of supposing that either the Greeks or the Latins are simply and absolutely cut off (as the Arians, Nestorians, and Monophysites have been cut off,) from Orthodoxy and Catholicism, to such a one it will be natural to inquire what signs there may be in ecclesiastical history, or in the present language and feelings of Greeks and Latins respectively, to corroborate that theory which he is inclined for its own sake to accept.

I. In the first place, it must strike every one as extraordinary, and contrary to all experience of ecclesiastical history, if either

the Greek or the Latin Church had really fallen into heresy, that the process of their outward alienation and separation should have been *so gradual and indistinct*, extending from Photius to Cerularius, and even beyond, over a space of more than two hundred years: whereas in the case of all other heresies there have always been holy and learned Bishops and Doctors who denounced them as such from the very time of their first appearance, and who from first to last constantly refused to communicate either with the heretics themselves, or with such as from weakness communicated with them, till they procured the complete and final condemnation of the heresy by the Church at large. But in this case Photius himself, who so publicly and with such effect anathematized the maintainers of the *Filioque* when he had reasons for attacking Rome, had only a little before, when it suited him to be at peace, thought himself justified in writing that the Greeks and Latins differed only "*ἐν μικρῶν τινα*," alluding then unquestionably to this same difference of the *Filioque* as much as, or more than, to any other. And on the other hand, if the denial of the *Filioque* by the Greeks was a heresy, (as was maintained afterwards by the Papal Legate Cardinal Humbert, who absurdly charged them with having expunged it from the Creed,) then how could the Popes of Rome come, as they did by their Legates, into the East after Photius and the Easterns had so publicly condemned the *Filioque* as an error and even as heresy, and take part in and preside in Eastern Councils without saying a word in defence of the truth or for the condemnation of error on this point? dissembling upon it altogether, deposing Photius only on grounds of irregularity, without hinting any suspicion of his orthodoxy; reciting the Creed in the form defended by his Anathemas, and even, as it seems, silently assenting to the repetition of the same Anathemas against the insertion of the addition?

Again, if the Latins were heretics, how could the Greeks so publicly and so repeatedly, from the time of Photius to the present day, offer to make union with them if only the interpolation were omitted from the Creed, without insisting on any condemnation or retraction of the doctrine itself as heresy? And on the other hand, if the Greek denial of the *Filioque* was heresy or heterodoxy, how could Pope Leo III. by setting up in

his two silver shields or tables a public protest against that addition to the Creed which was pressed for by the envoys of Charlemagne, have been showing his love for *orthodoxy*, and his care lest it should be tampered with? "*Hæc Leo posui amore et cautelâ orthodoxæ Fidei.*" Or if it were schism and apostacy from the unity of the Catholic Church for the Easterns to resist the See of Peter when afterwards it countenanced and adopted and even enjoined that novelty, how could the same Pope Leo III. who has just been mentioned insist that both he, the Pope himself, and all other Catholic Christians were so subject to the decrees of the Œcumenical Councils forbidding all alteration of the Creed, that if they inserted the clause in question, however orthodox they might think it, they would make it impossible for any man afterwards either to teach, or sing, or say the Creed without blame? Or how could another Pope, John VIII., half a century later, write to Photius, as he did, agreeing with him on this point, condemning strongly the authors of the innovation, and only demanding time and patience on the part of the Easterns, till they should be able to correct in the West so great a prevarication? Or, how could the same Pope, after having summoned to Rome the Apostles of the Slavonians, St. Cyril and St. Methodius, accused as heretics by German Bishops for refusing the interpolation and condemning the doctrine it embodied, how, I say, could the same Pope, John the Eighth, have justified those holy men merely because Rome had not yet herself adopted, though she tolerated in others, the interpolation?

II. Assuming it to be true (what it would need a separate dissertation to prove at length,) that the alienation of the two Churches was owing in great measure to a spirit which grew up gradually within each of them from below, and that, important as were the acts and motives and pretexts of Photius and Cerularius and the Byzantine Court (and especially the matter of the Filioque,) on the one side, and the swellings of Papal Supremacy on the other, still the main forces causing the ultimate separation were rather of a popular kind, consisting in national antipathies between the German-Latins, and the Greeks and Slavonians, and mixed with these ritual prejudices and antipathies, then, in whatever degree any man comes to see and

understand this, he will be the more strengthened in the opinion that there is not, probably, *besides* at the root of this vast and unhappy and long-standing schism any essential theological error either on the one side or the other, but rather moral and spiritual degeneracy on both sides, which has been permitted to work out its own punishment. Because iniquity abounded *therefore* the love of the brethren waxed cold : and those powerful natural principles of alienation and divergence which *though they had early appeared in the Church, and had been on the increase*, had yet for centuries been overcome and held together into unity by grace, have rent the visible Church, like the twelve tribes of Israel of old, into two great separate branches.

III. But to leave these general considerations, and to come to matters of fact and history : we find that even after Cerularius, and down to the present day, both the Latins and the Greeks have shown many signs of a deep consciousness that their rivals still belong to the Catholic Church in a sense in which no other heretics or schismatics can be said to do so.

As for the Latins, we see this truth well illustrated by the inconsistent expressions of Pope Gregory VII. and Pope Urban II. in proposing and preaching the first Crusade. As it were in the same breath Pope Gregory VII. writes that a main object with him is to force upon the Eastern Church, which differs from us about the HOLY GHOST, and by the instigation of the devil falls away from the Catholic faith, the decision of the faith of Peter, while Pope Urban exhorts all the West to deliver from the oppression of the infidels in Palestine our dear brethren, our very true brethren, and co-heirs of the heavenly kingdom ; to save the Church of God from suffering loss to the faith ; to defend the Eastern Church, from which hath flowed all our salvation, which suckled us with the divine milk, and first delivered to us the sacred doctrines of the Gospel. And again : their object is at once to promote the general interest of Christianity, *and* the most desirable exaltation of our Latin Church in particular. With the like inconsistency, the Crusaders, when they first took the city of Antioch, restored with much honour the Greek Patriarch to his chair, thinking this, as William of Tyre writes, more agreeable to the Canons and to

the constitutions of the holy Fathers, than to elect and consecrate a Patriarch of our own Latinity: though scarce two years after, changing their minds, they obliged him to retire to Constantinople, and set up a Latin Patriarch. And when they took Jerusalem and Palestine they made a Latin Patriarch there and a Latin Hierarchy at once, expelling the Greek: and at Constantinople, and throughout a great part of the Levant, how they treated their "dear brethren," their "very true brethren," and "co-heirs of the heavenly kingdom," how they did to their Churches exactly what the Turks had done to them in Palestine, and created everywhere a Latin hierarchy, needs not here to be described.

But in the way of Latin admissions in favour of the Eastern Church, no stronger testimony can be conceived than that afforded by the Council of Florence itself, at which, though for the future the Greeks were to submit absolutely to Rome, yet for the past the existence of their Church, of the Greek or Eastern Church as distinguished from the Latin, with all her Saints, was retrospectively recognized. The Pope had recognized the Patriarch of Constantinople as a brother before the opening of the Council, and the other Patriarchs as the legitimate possessors of their Sees; and "a holy union of the two Churches" was thought afterwards to have been concluded without either of them retracting or yielding to the other, both appearing, on explanation, to have all along virtually meant the same thing. Such was the account given by Latin Bishops returning from the Council; and such is the footing on which those Uniats who have accepted the terms of the Council of Florence stand even at the present day with regard to the non-united Church of their ancestors from the time of Cerularius to the formation of the Unia. And some Latin writers connected with the Uniats, seeing the retrospective latitude of the terms accorded to them, and desiring at once to veil the theological consequences of such latitude, and to make the bridge between the two Communions as serviceable for the future as possible, have been emboldened to attempt the most curious and extensive falsifications of history, writing down the whole Eastern Church, in spite of the bitter animosity of so many centuries, as having been all along devoted to the Pope and to "Catholicism," in

their sense of the word, down to the very formation of their Uniat congregations ; and the Russian Church, more especially, as having been perfectly "Catholic" down to the time of the Metropolitan of Moscow Photius. Some authors prolong its orthodoxy even to the time of Peter the Great !

Lastly, not the weakest testimony is the continued use of the expressions "Greek Church," and "Eastern Church," as distinguished from "Latin Church," and "Western Church," and of "the Greeks," or "the Easterns," as distinguished from "the Latins," or "Westerns." The force of this language was felt and pointed out by one of the most powerful of modern Ultramontane writers, the Count Joseph De Maistre ; and he suggested as a remedy for its evil tendency the substitution of the epithet "*Photienne*." After the publication of his treatise the Greek or Eastern or Orthodox Churches were no longer to be called by any of these titles, but were to become "*les Eglises Photiennes*," and therefore, of course, manifest nullities. But it is more reasonable, perhaps, to think that the theory of a talented writer, when it conflicts with language rooted in continuous history and in the popular use and mind and conscience of all Christendom, is thereby shown to be false, than to expect that the world will remodel its language so as to sustain the theory of an individual, even though that theory should be embraced by the whole Roman-Catholic or Latin Communion. An Anglican theory may require that the Anglican Church should, within her own dioceses at least, be orthodox and Catholic, and an individual or a party may do their best to give her such titles ; but the use and conscience of the world at large will continue to refuse them. A Greek theory may lead a Greek to dissemble the strength accruing to the Latins from their greater apparent universality, and from their possession of the title "*Catholic*," and of the idea which it embodies ; but this advantage will not therefore cease to exist and to be felt, and even to convert occasionally Greeks and Russians to the Roman Communion, so long as the two Churches remain in their present respective attitudes. And in like manner the advantage, such as it is, which is given to the Easterns by the continuance to the present day even among the Latins of the popular distinction of the Latin Church from the Greek, and of

the Western from the Eastern, is one of which it is beyond the power of either individuals or parties to deprive them.

On the side of the Easterns their continued admission of the existence of the Latin Church as a part of the true Catholic Church is manifest not only from their conduct on all public occasions, whenever there has been any communication with a view to reunion, but also from the common use of the same or similar language to what has been mentioned above in the case of the Latins: and this in a much greater degree. Indeed the doubt most likely to arise in the mind of any one who attentively considers the popular use of language among members of the Eastern Communion (joined with the almost total absence of zeal for the conversion of the Latins,) is not whether they admit the true life of the Roman-Catholic Church, but whether they do not unwittingly doubt or deny their own. The Latins unmistakeably associate both the title *and the idea* of Catholicism with their own Church, and only by a little lingering inconsistency betray a consciousness of doubt in having narrowed their Catholicism to its present definition: but the Easterns by taking for themselves, as they do, local and particular titles, such as "*Eastern*," "*Greek*," or "*Græco-Russ*," as distinctive of their Church and religion, by conceding practically the Greek epithet "*Catholic*" as a distinctive appellation to the Latins, and by showing so little disposition to dwell either upon the word or the idea for themselves, go far to admit that they are merely a particular Church, or an aggregate of particular Churches; that is, (so far as there may be in them any radical hostility to the remaining complement of Catholicism,) either schismatical or heretical, or both. But this is more than we want: it is enough for our purpose to say that the popular speech and ideas of the Easterns abundantly recognize the Roman-Catholic Church as a part, *at least*, of the true Catholic Church. No better instance, perhaps, can be adduced of this than the observation so common in the mouths of Easterns, and not of ignorant people only but of the most learned of their clergy and laity, that there have been but Seven General Councils, and that other Councils held since have not been of equal authority "*because of the division of the Churches*:" or again, that a General Council now *is impossible* (that is, among themselves, or among the Latins),

for the same reason. It is true that this same admission seems to have been made also by the Latins in favour of the Greeks when they were willing that the Council of Florence, if only it were accepted, should be reputed and called the "*Eighth General Council*:" and the galleys of Pope Eugenius and of the Synod of Basle racing against each other, and contending for the accession of the Greeks, hint something of the same sort. But of Greek admissions in favour of the Latins, one of the most remarkable in modern times is that contained in the Acts of the Synod of Bethlehem held under Dositheus Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1672. This Synod, in speaking of the Church, repeatedly distinguishes the "*Western*" from the "*Eastern*," and both from "*the whole Catholic Church*;" and blames the Lutherans and Calvinists for having invented heresies, and for having gone forth from "*that Church*" (the Western or Latin certainly,) "*in which their ancestors abiding had obtained salvation.*"

Yet with all these mutual admissions, or half-admissions, in favour of one another, the two Churches are practically at war. The Latins in the middle ages, without any shadow of reason, from mere hatred, re-baptized the Easterns in Poland and Germany; and still reconcile them individually as schismatics or heretics, or as both. And the Easterns in turn reconcile Latin proselytes as from heresy to the true Church, in Russia anointing them with Chrism, like Arians or Macedonians, in the Levant even Baptizing them, like Jews or Turks or Heathens.

As for the Latins, who are the stronger party, their conduct towards the Greeks is both politic and necessary: for any other conduct would be in fact to concede to them the main question between the Churches. But as regards the Greeks, who are the weaker party, and as regards the interest of that truth which they think they represent, it will be worth while to consider the origin of their present custom, and its effect on their controversial position, and the question what would be the bearing and tendency of a contrary practice.

The complete cutting off from the Catholic and Orthodox Church of any body of men who are truly and simply heretics, and the practice of reconciling them, if they return, whether in a body or as individuals, as has been done with Arians, Macedonians, Nestorians, Monophysites, and others, is as far from

having any bad effect on the Church herself, as is the cutting away of dead wood far from hurting a living tree. On the contrary, for the Church to have remained in Communion with death would have affected her own life. But if we suppose a case where there is *disease* in any part of a living body *but not death, so that the diseased part remains still a living part*, then the effect of a total severance of the more sound part from the diseased will have a contrary and pernicious effect both on the sound part and on the diseased. For the diseased part will have no longer any influence in contact with it to correct it; and the sound part will be mutilated, or it may be, even destroyed by losing its coherence with those other parts which are no less necessary than itself (it may be even more necessary,) to the perfection or life of the whole body. Any one can understand this in the case of a natural living body. And thus, even if the Eastern Church were to the Latin in extent and importance as two thirds to one third, and were spread over the whole globe, and possessed the idea and the title of "*Catholic*," still, *if the Latins were not really and mortally heretics* essentially as well as by mere form, it would have been a most uncharitable and pernicious fault to separate them altogether from Communion as heretics, and abandon them to their error, and so lose all chance of influencing them. But much more is this the case when they are not only not essentially heretics, but possess so large a share and interest in the universal body, and such great *superiorities* in some respects, that the Eastern Church in cutting them off not only loses all influence over them, but seems even rather to bring into question her own existence than to affect theirs. On the other hand, if the sound part were to remain in union with the diseased, and by contact to preserve its influence, then even a smaller part which should be sound and healthy might correct disease and renew health even in a larger, always supposing that there was no careless or indifferent toleration of the disease or error.

As things now are, the Eastern Church has absolutely no influence on the Western. She has cut herself off: and the Western, being materially the stronger and larger of the two, strengthens herself by this very separation in her errors, and boldly calls on all to choose the one Communion or the other.

But let any one consider what would be the prospect for "Orthodoxy," if only one national Church of the present Latin Communion, (let us suppose the Gallican,) without withdrawing from the rest, confessed the common fault, and called upon the rest to join in amending it; or, amending it at once for itself, received for the future only those laity and clergy from other branches of the Latin Communion, who, on examination, should be found to be personally free from the disposition to defend error? Would not such a state of things be most hopeful? And should we not expect to see immediately individuals in other Latin Churches both of the clergy and laity avowing their agreement and sympathy, and so moving from all quarters the whole body towards amendment? But if any one local Church of the present Latin Communion would probably by such conduct exert so great an influence, and form so hopeful a party, what would not be the influence of the Eastern Church, of one whole third part of Christendom, if only she had preserved, or if she were now to restore her coherence, and so were to become capable of having influence at all? Certainly there can be no doubt that, *if she has truth on her side*, she would speedily effect the reformation of the West. This attitude might be taken up by the Eastern Church if she were in practice to adopt some such rule as the following; that—

"If any persons coming from the Latins seek to communicate in any Orthodox Diocese, such persons shall first be examined, and if they are found willing to recite the Creed in the Canonical form, and personally free from malicious opposition to Orthodoxy on that and other points, they shall be received as brethren, without troubling them for the existence of faults which they acquiesce in only under the idea of authority, but are personally not unwilling to see reformed."

Such an attitude towards the Latins, an attitude of half-communication and half-recognition, would correspond with that view which we have shown to be taken of the Latin Church by the conscience of the Eastern, (namely, that on the great point it is materially, or in point of outward form, heretical without being intrinsically so, and on other points maintains certain grave errors and corruptions which yet are not heresies;) and it would give the Eastern Church (without any recognition of error small

or great,) the prospect of exerting a salutary and healing influence over the whole West, and of restoring the unity of the whole body.

But it may be objected that such a course is new, unheard of, inconsistent, impracticable ; a mere scheme of human policy, invented after a separation of a thousand years to suit the apparent difficulties of the case. It is no such thing. Whatever force there may be in the arguments which have been now alleged in favour of such a course, it has another and an anterior claim upon the attention of all members of the Eastern Church, namely this, that *it is the view which was first taken, and by the holiest and wisest men, in their own Church after the completion of the Schism*. For after the full ascertainment of the depth of the differences between the East and the West, after the mutual anathemas of the Archbishops of old and new Rome, after the time not of Photius only but of Cerularius, when in consequence of the Latins still continuing from long habit as individuals to recognize the Eastern Church, and to seek the Communion from its Clergy, the question arose how they ought to be treated, and some said in one way, and some in another, and this question was referred to the most holy and learned Bishops of the Eastern Church, such as *Theophylact of Bulgaria* and *Demetrius Chomatenus*, the reply and sentence of such men was this : that the Latins applying for Communion should be examined individually, and if not found malicious maintainers of the errors condemned by the Church, should be received as brethren.

But it seemed more consistent and logical to certain Canonists (especially to Theodore Balsamon,) to reason thus : " We excommunicate the Pope of Rome for certain errors : all the West-erns adhere to him, and to his errors ; therefore all the Westerns are to be treated simply as other heretics, and a Form must be provided for their abjuration and reconciliation : " (for the gall of bitterness had not yet drenched the Greeks so deeply as to settle the point that the Latins were as heathens and unbaptized : it was enough *then* for general practice that a Form should be provided for their reconciliation.) For their reconciliation to what ? let us ask ; (and let the reader attend to this question :) To the *Catholic* truth of the *Catholic* or Universal Church, as in the case of *all other* heretics ? No ; but to the Catholic truth or Ortho-

doxy of the "*Eastern*" or "*Greek*," that is, of a particular would-be universal Church: an attempt and a pretension by its own language (necessarily employed) self-refuted and self-condemned.

Thus the shortsighted reasonings of controversial Canonists were preferred to the judgments of Saints: the absolute separation of the two Churches has been fixed and stereotyped in the Eastern as well as in the Latin Church—law and ritual: the definition of the primary sacrament of Baptism itself, and the grace of regeneration for the larger part of Christendom, has been made to depend upon the variable will of men, upon the allowance or non-allowance of necessity or economy by spiteful rivals, galled by the sense of their inferiority. Rome profits by the error; "Orthodoxy" suffers by it. Heathens and Turks and Sectaries sneer, and draw arguments from the divisions of the Apostolic Church against Christianity itself; and "the Son of God," as was foretold by Theophylact, has "suffered a great damage in that heritage which is given Him among the Gentiles."

Here follows an extract from the Answers of Demetrius Chomatenus, Archbishop of Bulgaria (A.D. 1203,) to Constantine Cabasilas, Archbishop of Dyrrachium.

"*Question.* How are the Azymes offered by the Latins to be accounted of, as common or holy? And in like manner of the vessels, priestly robes, and the like, which are used for their Service? And is it justifiable in them to wear rings?"

"*Answer.* Canons lxx. of the Holy Apostles, xxxvii. of the Synod of Laodiceæ, and lx. of the Synod of Carthage, mention the Azymes of the Jews, and Azymes sent on festivals to the faithful from the heretics, and forbid the faithful to receive these, or to keep common festivals with them that send them. But the Latin Azymes are mentioned nowhere by any Canon, for this reason, as it would seem, that it was later that the abuse of celebrating in Azymes came into the Roman Church. However, since this custom came up, many of our people, of an excessive zeal, have in private writings among themselves exploded this as a monstrosity. Nor this only, but

also the doctrine held by the Latins about the Procession of the HOLY GHOST they have absolutely condemned as strange and erroneous. And many other customs of theirs, as departures from the tradition of the Catholic Church, they have reckoned as abominations, and have rejected. Some nevertheless, who have taken the matter more mildly, have been willing to use condescendence towards them for the other points, *knowing the stiff and haughty character of the nation*, and the mixture they have among them in many respects of barbarous manners, but in one point only, that of the Procession of the HOLY GHOST, would by no means condescend to nor allow them. One such is the most wise Theophylact of Bulgaria, of blessed memory; who in his treatise sent to the Deacon and Canstrisius Nicholas, afterwards Bishop of Melesova, after blaming such as companied with them [the Latins] indifferently, and disused their own customs altogether, and after enumerating their apparent faults, proceeds as follows :

“ ‘I for my own part think that some of these things need no correction at all, some others only a slight correction, and such as if any one were to obtain, he might do the Church some little satisfaction; or if it were not to be obtained, the failure would involve no great damage. But what seems to me to be the main thing to make Communion with the Latins to be shunned by right-minded people, and what, if it remain uncorrected, threatens great damage to that inheritance of the SON of GOD which He has received among the Gentiles, this I will state and explain to you, as well as I am able.’ And further on : ‘This therefore is the capital error, and what, to use Solomon’s words, makes them run into a snare of hell, the innovation which they have made in the Creed, teaching that the SPIRIT proceeds from the FATHER *and from the SON.*’ And after a good deal more : ‘But whereas many have also against the offering of Azymes a very hot zeal, hotter than fire itself, and would sooner part with their lives than give up their opinion on this point; while some also indulge their own passion, and it seems to Paul a snare of the devil; what one ought to reply to these we will state by-and-by, so as to chastise the immoderate zeal of the former, and to show to the latter that that is really *low* which refuses to come down.’ And again, after

much more : ‘ If the Westerns then maintain any error of doctrine endangering the faith which we have received from the Fathers, (such as is their addition to the Creed concerning the HOLY GHOST, which is most dangerous,) whoever admits this as not needing correction, is himself not to be tolerated : not though they speak big words from their throne which they, lofty themselves, set up loftily on high ; not though they advance the confession of Peter ; not though they dwell on the blessing given upon that confession ; not though they shake in our faces the keys of the kingdom.’ And again, after a good deal more : ‘ We will not therefore either for the Azymes or for the Fasts contend obstinately against the obstinate self-will of their nation : for this is only to clap one tile against another, and try to make it stick, without putting any thing of moister temper between which might perhaps cement them together. Nor, still less, on account of the rest of the points enumerated, on which when they admit that they practise what is objected to them, except the eating of things strangled, (for this religious Latins endure not so much as to hear named, no more than we do ourselves ; no more than fornication, or robbery ; though the more savage and bestial among them may do it,) they seem to many to be guilty of unpardonable transgressions. Such judgments, I think, are not to be assented to by any man who is versed in ecclesiastical history, and has learned that it is not every custom which can sever from the Church, but that only which leads to a difference of dogma. And these things, which our wonderfully wise judges will have to be such great errors, are most certainly nothing more than customs, some of them introduced of pious feeling, as the custom of kissing the pavement of the church, (for we must not listen to that satanical calumny that the Latins reject the veneration of Icons,) others out of economy and condescension possibly to spiritual, but at any rate to bodily infirmity, as the allowance of their monks, when unwell, to eat flesh-meat, and that in moderation, and as becomes spiritual persons. But if some make this too general, as a thing indifferent, their case may demand other language, which does not apply to those who in the first instance introduced on grounds of reason this condescendence. And other customs there are, which for certain other reasons have come to be rooted in the Latin Churches. Of which none can separate

us from them. No : at least not if the case be judged by such as are willing to follow the rules of the Fathers. And if I should not be obliged to go to too great length, and go near to writing a history, I could enumerate to you thousands upon thousands of instances of customs allowed by the ancient Fathers in order to win the souls of their brethren. For *they* knew the duty of not pleasing themselves, but striving every one to please his neighbour, for good, unto edification. But now (alas for our dropsical tumour of pride,) we say *And who is my neighbour?* and cast down thousands upon thousands that really stand, that we may have our own will.' Afterwards he severely inveighs against them that indiscriminately and immoderately revile the Latin usages, and reckon them as enormous and excommunicable errors.

"So from the contents of this most wisely written composition we may understand, that as regards every nation which has received the Gospel of CHRIST, we ought as little as possible to notice any defects which there may be in their usages; but, contrariwise, any strange and erroneous doctrines we ought very jealously to suspect, and flee from them as from eating cancers, which St. Paul mentions, or as from any other dangerous and contagious diseases. Since mere usages have not, but evil doctrines have such force as to separate us from them. Wherefore neither the Azymes consecrated by the Latins, nor the vessels which receive these and which are used by them in their ministration, nor consequently their sacred vestments, nor any thing of the same kind, shall by us be accounted defiled. How should it, when they are sealed by the invocation of the LORD's name, and hallowed, as we hear, by the holy Prayers of James the LORD's Brother? But if any one object that if the Azymes of the Latins are not defiled, there will be no harm to us if we go a step further, and partake of them, we answer, that since, as has been said above, this custom of Azymes, together with others, is now rooted in the Western Churches, even as among ourselves the custom of offering and consecrating leavened bread, departure from their own respective customs will be impossible for Christians on either side, unless the one side should ever choose to go over to the other, and embrace its Communion; [that is, in this respect, so as to observe in common with it the same usage of

Azymes or leavened bread for the future.] Nevertheless, as they consider what we consecrate, so we also consider what they consecrate to be holy. And we are not wrong. For the Ordinations even of heretics are admitted by the Orthodox, according to the tradition of the Fathers, when the persons Ordained by heretics either are Orthodox, or become so afterwards." . . .

"*Question.* Is it any harm for a Bishop to enter the churches of the Latins, and to worship in them, on any occasion when he may be invited by them? And should he give them the *κατακλαστόν*, [that is, the *Ἀντιδωρον* or blessed bread,] when they are present at the Liturgy in the holy and Catholic Church?

"*Answer.* Some of the Latins there are who do not at all differ from our customs either doctrinal or ecclesiastical, but are, as one may say, in this respect double-sided or neutral. As then it is our duty, and agreeable to piety, stiffly to oppose them that essentially differ from us, especially in the point of the doctrine of the Procession of the HOLY GHOST, so on the other hand to use condescendence towards them that are not such, and to go with them into their churches, will be no fault in the Bishop who is charged with, and aims after, such economy as befits a steward of souls. Wherefore he will both go, when invited, to their churches without scruple, (for they too, no less than we ourselves, are worshippers of the holy Icons, and set them up in their churches,) and will give them freely the Antidoron when they are present in the Catholic Church and come up to receive it. For this custom may have the effect of gradually drawing them over altogether to our holy usages and doctrines. Italy itself is thickly studded with churches of the holy Apostles and Martyrs, the chief of which is the celebrated Church of Peter the Chief of the Apostles at Rome. Into these churches our people go freely, priests and laymen alike, and make their prayers to God, and render to the Saints who are honoured in them their due relative veneration and honour. And by doing this they incur no manner of blame, the churches in question being all under the Latins. We remember that there were some Questions asked a good many years ago by Mark Patriarch of Alexandria, of blessed memory, and Answers written to the same by Theodore Balsamon, late Patriarch of Antioch. Among these there was one Question re-

lating to Latin captives, namely, whether such ought to be admitted, when they come to the Catholic churches and seek to partake of the divine Sacraments? and subjoined to this an Answer altogether forbidding that the aforesaid Latins should be admitted to receive the divine Communion at the hands of our priests. The Answer professed to ground itself upon the holy Scripture, and quoted that saying of the LORD, '*He that is not with Me is against Me; and he that gathereth not with Me scattereth.*' This Answer however was disapproved of by many of the most eminent men who were living at that time, as showing too great harshness and bitterness, and an unjustifiable tone, in blaming the Latin forms and customs; 'because all this,' they said, 'has never been read or decreed synodically, nor have they ever been publicly rejected as heretics; but both eat with us, and pray with us. And any one,' they said, 'may readily prove the justness of this reasoning from Canon xv. of the holy Synod which is called the First and Second of Constantinople. And again because this very fact of the Latins coming to us, and seeking to communicate at our hands of the holy Oblation which is made with leavened bread, shows plainly that they cannot think much of their Azymes, nor make any great point of sticking to them: else they would not come to our celebration of the Divine Mysteries.' These too, in order to support their own view from the Gospel, alleged what was said by St. John to the LORD, '*We saw,*' he said, '*one casting out devils in Thy name, and we forbade him, because he followeth not with us. And JESUS said unto him, Forbid him not: for whosoever is not against us is for us.*' They urged also in addition that the words '*He that is not with Me is against Me:*' are plainly and exclusively intended by our SAVIOUR for the devil, as the context of the Gospel in the same place shows. For as Satan is an enemy from the beginning, and abides unchangeable in his malice, and is absolutely incapable of repentance, in this sense he, not being with the LORD, is against Him, and from so being has his name Satan, or adversary: inasmuch as the LORD loveth His own creation and gathereth it to Himself, but Satan hateth it and scattereth. But the words '*He who is not against us is for us:*' are spoken in reference to a man who, though he follows not Jesus, yet emulates them that do follow Him, and in His

name casts out devils, and so from walking apart may easily change to following. For for mere human infirmity there is a remedy, namely, conversion and repentance, and to change from what is worse to what is better. They appealed also to the judgment on this same subject of Theophylact, the most wise Archbishop of Bulgaria, which we have given in an abridged form above in another of our Answers, and which discourses of condescension and economy in a manner worthy both of admiration and of praise. And so they who argued against the opinion of Balsamon, as has been related, were judged to have insisted piously and reasonably for giving the preference over inflexible harshness to economy, in order that so, instead of casting down, we may gently and gradually win our brethren, for whom our common SAVIOUR and LORD shed His own most precious blood."—*Leunclavii Juris Græco-Romani, &c., A.D. 1596. Tom. I., p. 318—323.*

DISSERTATION III.

THE ASPECT OF THE RUSSIAN PART OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH
AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION OF LUTHER;
BEING "AN ACCOUNT OF THE RELIGION OF THE MUSCOVITES,
WRITTEN BY JOHN FABER, FOR FERDINAND KING OF THE ROMANS,
TO WHOM HE WAS CONFESSOR."*
A.D. 1525.

"THE Muscovites follow the Christian faith which they say was first preached to them by the Apostle St. Andrew the brother of Simon Peter. Also all that was decreed under Constantine the Great by the three hundred and eighteen Bishops at Nice of Bithynia, in the first Nicene Council, and all the tradition and teaching of Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom they believe to be so sacred, authoritative, and authentic, that it has never been lawful for any to depart therefrom so much as a hairsbreadth, any more than from the Gospel of CHRIST itself. And such is their sobermindedness, that whatever has once been decided by the holy Fathers in their Councils, no one of their profession ever dares to make a question of it afterwards. But if any difficulty either about faith or ritual matters arise, it is all referred to the Archbishop and the rest of the Bishops, to be determined solely by their judgment. Nor is any thing left to the variableness and diversity of popular opinion. For the Priest's lips keep the law of God, and the law is to be sought at

* This account is translated from the Latin text of a book intitled "*De Rus-sorum, Moscovitarum, et Tartarorum Religione, &c., Spira, Anno MDLXXXII.*" p. 170. Its author, *John Faber*, was a German Dominican, of great note for his numerous and powerful writings against the Lutherans, from the title of one of which, and for distinction's sake, he was sometimes surnamed "*Malleus Hæreticorum.*" He was Canon of Constance on the Rhine, and afterwards Bishop of Vienna. He died in the year 1541.

his mouth. They have an Archbishop who has his Chair as Primate in the city of Moscow, where is the residence of the Emperor. There are also many Bishops besides, as one at Novgorod, another at Rostoff, another at Souzdal, another at Vladimir, another at Smolensk, others at Riazan, Kolomna, Vologda, Tver, &c., who have each their own separate dioceses. All these Bishops acknowledge the above-mentioned Archbishop as their head: and the Archbishop, before the Patriarch of Constantinople fell under the tyranny of the Mahometans, had always acknowledged that Patriarch as his superior; (though they confess that before him again the Roman Pontiff, as successor of Peter, has ever and of right held precedence.) Nor at the present day is the Emperor of the Russians unmindful of this relation, but is still very attentive in keeping up the same pious respect; for it is his custom, even to this present, to send alms year by year to the Patriarch of Constantinople, to help him to live and to wait patiently for the end of his Egyptian bondage. Among the Muscovites the law and rule is that Priests and all clerks are to be ordained by Bishops only. Nor can any mere Presbyter ever give Confirmation.*

"These same, that is the Bishops, are they that on Holy Thursday consecrate and make the Chrism and the Oil which are afterwards used in Baptism, in Confirmation, and in the Anointing of the sick. They too alone institute and deprive Priests: nor can they ever be judged or censured by laymen: in which respect they do well, keeping before their eyes St. Paul's teaching to Timothy, where he says, 'Against an Elder receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses.' So not even the Emperor himself ever interferes respecting the punishment of Clerks: for this they with one accord affirm and teach belongs only to the Bishop, to rebuke and punish those who by the order of the Gospel and their call into the LORD's inheritance have been placed under his jurisdiction. The Bishops

* A mistake, which may possibly have arisen from the Russian informant's not having understood the technical use of the word *Confirmatio* among the Latins. The author continues, giving his own inference, thus: "*Hoc enim muneris Episcopo soli incumbere asserunt, ut, posteaquam tinctus aquâ adultus fiat, per impositionem manuum Episcopi et signaculum crucis adeptæ fidei testimonium reddat, firmeturque per unctionem quæ in fronte fieri solet.*"

have also their Vicars and Officials, like ours, who exercise jurisdiction over those subject to them, and administer justice in ecclesiastical matters. The Bishops also are maintained from tithes, as has been appointed by God: they possess estates which have been legally granted to them: they are lords of manors and castles. The rest of the Priests live from certain tithes, oblations, and various other sources derived both from the living and from the dead. For they have Benefices founded for them, the patrons of which are spiritual as well as lay persons. However in this matter they are stricter than we, who are often only too lax: for they do not easily give any Ecclesiastical office, or confer any benefice, unless the man be ascertained to be fit by really competent persons, that is to say, by the Bishops or their Vicars. The Bishops have their own households consisting both of nobles and of others. And assuredly it is on these, that is, the Bishops, that the whole religion of the Russians turns, either to stand or fall. They celebrate the Divine Mysteries often, and especially when they hold any meeting with their Emperor. For the insignia of their Order they use a staff and a mitre, as is the manner of our Bishops. The abstemiousness of them all, the Archbishop as well as the other Bishops, in meat and drink is great and most remarkable, and indeed above all praise, falling not short of that of the monks of those regions, who are exceedingly numerous; and these are all bound by their rule never so much as to taste flesh for food. Not far from the city of Moscow there is a very great monastery in which there are generally about three hundred brethren living together under the Rule of St. Basil the Great; where is the tomb of the holy Abbot Sergius (the founder), which is visited by multitudes of strangers even from the most distant provinces. For it has become famous by a vast number of miracles which have been wrought at it, and which well deserve the admiration of Christians. Of which I shall be content here to mention one only, a most notable one, which occurred there only a few years ago, when two blind men had their sight restored to them. For that Abbot during his lifetime exhibited such signs of sanctity, that men readily persuaded themselves and believe that he has now great power with God, and can obtain many things for men by his prayers. And so they pay frequent visits and in

great numbers to his tomb, and honour it with singular devotion. For indeed all the monks and nuns who are in their monasteries, and who are all under one and the same rule of the Black Habit, as it is called, live with such strictness of religion as to win not merely admiration but the very deepest reverence. Nor is the vow counted so light a matter with them as it is now-a-days among us. But when any one has once gone into a monastery he can never afterwards under any pretext, or by any indulgence whatever, leave it, or disengage himself from his vow. The vows which they make are threefold, as with us, of obedience, poverty, and chastity, which if any one breaks and leaves his monastery, and is afterwards taken, his punishment for so heinous an offence is imprisonment for life. So sacred are the vows held with them: insomuch that great as is the authority of the Archbishop and Bishops among the Russians, they have no power whatever to make any relaxation in such matters; the Scriptures, they say, of both Testaments teaching that men who vow must also perform unto the LORD their vows. And so naturally they think too much of chastity to allow either monks ever to marry wives or nuns to be married to husbands; that being forbidden by the Apostle Paul, and by the whole Church. A man who has married a maid of good reputation is with them ordained to the Priesthood, but cannot be received as a monk. But a Bishop or Priest who has been ordained unmarried can never marry, but must live in celibacy. If any one be guilty of concubinage (a crime however which is of the rarest among the Russians,) he is condemned by the Bishop to the severest punishment, and is deprived of his benefice. And when any Clerk has lost his wife, whom he married at the first, by death, he can never marry another. For St. Paul teaches us that a Bishop (or Priest) is not to be a man twice married, but 'the husband of one wife.' And further, as the crowning mark of their religious reverence and zeal, they observe as a rule that when a married Priest is to celebrate Divine Offices, and more especially when he is to celebrate the Mass, he is on no account the night before to sleep with his wife. And for the greater reverence they keep apart the following night also. Such is their respect for the greatness of the Mystery of the LORD's Body and Blood; such their

devotion and pious feeling. After this let our Priests consider with what polluted hands they too often touch this most holy Sacrament, the pledge of our entire redemption. Would that the example of David could move them (It alone should be enough to do so;) who, though ever so famished, would still have been refused the Shew-Bread by Abimelec unless he and his followers had for the two days before been parted from their wives. How then ought not he also at least equally to observe purity who is to touch the holy vessels of the LORD, nay, who is to administer and handle the LORD Himself? Another primary duty of Priests is that of announcing to the people CHRIST's Gospel of peace and salvation; which is done among them everywhere [Seldom however, except by Bishops.] on all LORD's Days, and on Festivals of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Apostles, and certain Confessors and Martyrs. They have also a great reverence for the Virgin Mary, and frequently invoke her, as the Mother of CHRIST, to intercede with her SON. For they rightly think that she, being the Mother of GOD, can obtain for us on earth many things from her SON. And so they celebrate the Festivals of her Annunciation, Purification, Nativity, and Assumption, and the rest, with stated Fasts, ceremonies, and Masses, read or sung, [The Easterns have not this distinction.] according to the Ritual which they have in common with the Church of the Greeks. As also they do all the year round, except in Lent, when they celebrate [on Wednesdays and Fridays] the Mass of St. Gregory Dialogus, [that is, the Liturgy of the Presanctified.] Both the forms of their Mass are thrice as long as that which is commonly used among the Latins. The people come to hear it with great devotion, as if they were all about to Communicate. Their Mass differs from ours in this, that the Muscovites consecrate, after the manner of the Greeks, in leavened bread. Also they mix in the chalice, in equal quantities, red wine and water. [Not so.] And this water they will have warm;* because, they say, it was not without a deep mystery that there came forth from the LORD's side blood and water, which latter we must suppose to have been warm; else it could hardly be regarded as

* This is an incorrect allusion to another ceremony totally different from the mixture of the cup at the Prothesis, namely, that of pouring in a little warm water *after the Consecration*.

a miracle. And this Sacrament of CHRIST's Body and Blood is consecrated only by a Priest, who is vested nearly like our Priests in a white robe (*stolă albă*), and lifts up his whole mind to GOD with purpose to make that Sacrament which CHRIST left us in His Last Supper for a sufficient pledge of all His promises, as the whole world confesses. The Epistle too and the Gospel they have in their Masses, just as we have in ours. But after the reading of the Gospel the Nicene Creed does not follow immediately; for it is sung later, after the Angelic [or Cherubic] Hymn, which is [not to be confounded with] the 'Sanctus.' After the [end of the Consecration, but before the] LORD's Prayer there follows an Anthem in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Consecration is made like ours by CHRIST's own Words [together with the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST] which they think have such power, that upon their being uttered by the Priest the creature gives place to its Creator: and that this cannot be otherwise. Such being their manner of celebrating, the bread which is brought for it is a small barley [wheaten] loaf or cake of a certain size, having the Host in the middle with the form of the Crucifix stamped on it as with us: [really a Cross, with certain letters.] And this, after it has by the force of the Consecration been changed into the Body of CHRIST, the Priest takes to himself and consumes, while the rest of the bread he [afterwards] distributes cut up into small pieces to such of the congregation as come up to him to receive it. And this they each receive, not as the Body of CHRIST but as blessed and in a certain sense holy bread, with the utmost reverence. These their Masses they use to celebrate to the special honour of the TRINITY, of the Blessed Virgin, and of other Saints. And as beyond a doubt they have the belief of Purgatory [Rather, although they disclaim the belief of Purgatory,] they make diligent prayers for the departed, and help them with Masses. In this point indeed so religious are they, that they commonly keep two anniversary days, as they are called, for the dead; one the actual day of the death, the other the day of the Saint whose name the deceased bore. In addition there are oblations and alms, which the Christians in those parts on such and other occasions make largely. All this their Ritual and especially their Liturgies they professed to have pre-

served entire as instituted by the primitive Church and handed down by Chrysostom, Basil the Great, and Gregory Dialogus. Thus much then shall suffice, though too brief, for this great Mystery. The Sacrament of the Eucharist, according to their use, is administered to the people at the same season at which it was first instituted by CHRIST Himself and afterwards frequented by the Church, that is, at the season of Easter; though with an order perhaps somewhat different from the practice and decree of the Roman Church. *Baptism* they consider as the first, and so, in a sense, as the chief Sacrament: wherefore if any one neglect or condemn it, it is with them a capital crime. For the same reason they baptize children, in the Name of the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST. For conferring it [publicly,] however great may be the necessity, no man is thought to be a competent minister but a Priest. Before the administration of Baptism there are a number of devout Prayers said by the Priest, the relatives, the godparents, the neighbours and friends, and lastly by all the bystanders; that the Almighty and most merciful God will be pleased to give the fulness of His grace from heaven to the child, and to be with him through all the course of his life. After which Prayers the child is baptized in the Church (which has a Baptistery provided for such occasions,) or perhaps in winter, to avoid the severe cold, in a private house. As witnesses there must be present godfathers and godmothers, as with us, who are made to pledge themselves that they will bear that Baptism in mind; that so soon as the age of the child admits or requires it, they will not neglect to instruct him in the faith; that they will praise God for so great a benefit, and pray Him to increase daily this most divine gift of faith now given. And so, after the reading of the previous Prayers, with which are joined also Exorcisms, the child, if it appear strong and healthy, is thrice plunged all over in the water: otherwise it has water applied to it; though this is seldom, as aspersion is held to be insufficient. Meanwhile Oil and Chrism are also applied to its forehead and shoulders. But the salt which our Priests use in Baptizing, and the mud made of spittle and dust, is not much approved by the Muscovites. But the triple Abrenunciation of Satan, and the triple Confession of the Faith, they retain in use. Being asked next

by us what they thought of Circumcision, and whether they practised it, they replied that nothing was further from their religion than the observance of any particle, however small, of the old Judaism which has been abolished: that, on the contrary, to show their abhorrence of it, no Jew is allowed to enter any part of the whole Russian empire, no, not though he should attempt to buy the permission with many thousands of gold. When the child is now grown, and come to years of discretion, so as to be able to give proofs of his Christian faith, it is brought to the Bishop to receive the Sacrament of the *Confirmation* of this faith, which is conferred by Chrism applied to the forehead in the form of a cross.* The administration of this Sacrament is allowed by them to the Bishop alone. This we may *conjecture* to be the case, *since* they have received all their religion by tradition from the Apostles, and *because* Imposition of Hands, whether in Confirmation or in conferring Holy Orders, was committed to the Bishop alone; and so all ancient monuments attest, and ecclesiastical custom hath observed. As for *Matrimony*, if we are to say something of it, they assured us that both in respect of consanguinity and of affinity they are exceedingly careful and strict; nor can the prohibitions of the Church ever be made light of. So far do they carry this, that not so much as a single instance can be found of any parties having contracted marriage even in the fourth degree; nor are dispensations ever given; but the thing is absolutely disallowed. For this having once been ruled by the Holy Fathers, they never think of doing any thing to invalidate their sanctions. And what is more, they observe universally for that sort of relationship which is contracted by godfathers and godmothers at Baptism and Confirmation a respect to the full as strict as that which is enjoined by the decrees of the Roman Church. If in respect of such matters any controversy or dispute arise, the case is decided absolutely by the sentence of the Bishops, without their having, nevertheless, any power to use indulgence, or to tamper in any way with the constitutions of the Church. For adultery they have perhaps a greater abhorrence than we have; for they prosecute that crime with the extremest execration.

* This is not so. The Chrism is applied by the Priest or Bishop who baptizes immediately after baptism.

Also with them there is no relaxation of the law that so long as the husband lives the wife can never marry another. It is only on his dying that she is set free from the law ; otherwise she must live inseparably with her husband. Holy Orders also are among them conferred on Priests with certain appropriate charges and ceremonies of their own : nor do they think the power of the keys to be committed to them, unless in imitation of CHRIST the ordaining Bishop first says in their ears, ' Receive the HOLY GHOST : whose sins ye forgive they are forgiven unto them.' Such is the form prescribed to us by CHRIST in the Gospel, by which every one whom the Bishop calls and ordains to be a Priest receives authority either to loose men from their sins, or to leave them still bound. For this ministry of the Priesthood is used by the Muscovites in the matter of Penitence ; and every one that has come to years of discretion, so as to be able to distinguish between good and evil, right and wrong, leprosy and no leprosy, whensoever he is conscious that he has sinned, and is contrite, forthwith, offering duly to GOD the sacrifice of a troubled spirit, falls down at the feet of the Priest, and enumerates to him, as sitting in the seat of GOD, all the sins he has committed, so far as he can remember them, in order, with groans or tears : and so receives afterwards from him, as from CHRIST's vicar, the benefit of Absolution. For doing this they have a set time, being required by the rule of the Church to do it once a year, about the season of Easter. But the more religious among them confess oftener, before each of the chief festivals. If any one do it not even at the required time, at Easter, he is anathema to all : all are forbidden to converse with him ; and he is not allowed to enter the Church. Besides going to confession, the penitent, that he may be a worthy partaker of so great a mystery as that of the LORD's Body and Blood, must for some days before afflict his body and bring his flesh under subjection, and perform other worthy fruits of penance in proof of his contrition. In agreement with these usages they affirm undoubtedly that the Fast of Lent was enjoined upon us by CHRIST and His Apostles ; at which season nature herself teaches us that it is very needful to blunt the assaults of the old Adam by abstaining from flesh. And this abstinence they observe for seven weeks with such strictness, that none of them during the

whole time may touch either flesh, eggs, cheese, or butter. Besides this they also keep a fast from the tenth day of November to Christmas Day: and yet again other fasts of whole weeks together, as in June before the Festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, and a fast of two weeks in August before the Feast of the Assumption: then the Fridays in every week throughout the year, and the Wednesdays. Eight of those who belonged to the suite of His Serene Highness had made a vow to abstain from flesh meat three days in the week, namely, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays; and the interpreter said that hitherto, by God's grace, they had all been able to keep it. Such is their strictness in following these rules, that in all their fasts without exception it is a sin for any one to eat either flesh or eggs. What is more, they told us that many of their countrymen during the fasts never touch anything that has had life, not even fish; while others on fast-days drink neither wine nor any other made drink. At the hearing of which relations we were so moved and rapt as it were with wonder, as to seem for the moment stupefied; being struck with the thought that if our Christians are compared with them in these things which concern the religion of CHRIST, the contrast seemed very much to our disadvantage. Nor has any impression ever sunk deeper into our minds than this, that we who are so very confident about the tree of our Faith, turn out in respect of fruit to be behind them. They maintain also the other exercises of penitence, by which they believe God is reconciled to us. Of these the chief is Prayer, for the frequent practice of which it is not easy, I think, to find others like them. For every morning before dawn they all prostrating themselves, at their length, to the ground, make long prayers to God: and at all times of the day, almost without intermission, they have Prayers: among which the first place belongs to the LORD's Prayer; then the Blessed Virgin is saluted in the words of the Archangel Gabriel. They also recite their profession of the Faith in that Creed which we have been taught by the ancients to regard as Apostolic. And there is none of them who does not every day say his Litany. The richer sort, who can afford to go to a great expense for them, and can read in the Russian language, provide themselves with books of Prayers; but those Prayers only which

are received by the Church ; of which kind of books we saw several in the possession of the Ambassadors. *Images* with them are not treated with that slight regard, or rather contempt, which has become only too common among us, contrary to all godliness, through the factions of this present age ; but they keep them ever before their eyes as remembrancers, that they may never forget God's benefits. They come together in multitudes to their churches, in the building of which they spare no expense, and which they call 'Houses of Prayer', according to the Gospel : they adorn them with various images, of our SAVIOUR crucified, of the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles, and certain other Saints : and this they maintain that they are warranted in doing by the example of the primitive Christians. Nor are they so easily moved by the fact that there were some among the Greeks at Constantinople seven hundred years ago who taught that images were fit only for idolaters, and that it was unlawful for them to be found among true Christians. For it is well known that all who persevered obstinately in this opinion were afterwards by the second Council of Nice condemned. Nor is it easy to find so much as a single individual here and there who by using these things as helps and remembrances is led to adore them. For there is none of them but knows that we are forbidden by God's law to worship stocks and stones ; while on the other hand there is no place whatever in Scripture which shows it unlawful or forbids to use such things as remembrancers. As for them, even in their convivial entertainments they set up in view such remembrancers, that they may at all times be reminded of God's benefits, and be moved to think of the pattern of our whole life, that is, of CHRIST. As for their Ceremonial, they have in common with us in their worship the use of candles ; (as their country produces abundance of wax, and they think that God is to be honoured from the fruits of the earth, and from every thing that belongs to a man's substance) : and these candles are lighted more especially when the Priest handles our LORD'S Body and Blood, the Sacrament of our entire redemption ; that is, during the celebration of the Mass. But as for those Organs, of Pepin's which we use, (though they were first sent to us from Greece,) they neither go to any expense for them, nor have ever yet so much as admitted them into their churches.

“Nor is this the least noticeable among their other good customs, that they take an extraordinary care of the poor, to whom every one, according to his means and his devotion, gives alms in money, clothing, meat, and drink ; receiving and entertaining strangers ; and doing all other like things to help the poorer members of CHRIST in this life. They also make set *pilgrimages* to certain recognized holy places ; on which I will not now enlarge. Further, when any man among them is sick so as to seem in danger of death, he not only makes a particular Confession of all his sins, but also, to testify his faith in CHRIST who by His Testament left us a pledge that He would thus forgive sin, he receives the provision [or *viaticum*] of the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Nor does he by any means neglect to desire the *Last Unction*. Then they make frequent Prayers for the sick ; and say Litanies. And so, at length, after he has made his Confession, and all has been done which is common among Christians, the Penitent is by the Priest Absolved. Thus they have *Seven Sacraments*, which they believe truly to communicate to every one who devoutly receives them those graces or promises which they represent. They also hold the *Ten Commandments* by the same authority which first delivered them to Moses, as of perpetual obligation, being assured by His own word that He came to fulfil the Law, and by no means to destroy it. *Indulgences* they receive from their Archbishop and Bishops ; though in this matter they act perhaps more scrupulously than we do : for they say that it would be the greatest wickedness, if they were to set to sale what they have freely received to give. Nor may any Bishop give dispensations to eat flesh. Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Paul’s Epistles, and the rest which we receive, together with the Apocalypse, are reckoned by them as the Canonical Scriptures of the New Testament. And concerning the Canon of the Old Testament they agree with the decrees of the Catholic Church. The Roman Pontiff they acknowledge to be Vicar of CHRIST and successor of Peter : and accordingly the festivals of St. Clement, St. Leo, and St. Gregory, are celebrated by the Muscovites. But if the objection were made that they are condemned by the Roman Pontiff as apostates and schismatics, they said that they trusted themselves to the judgment of God the righteous Judge. Many attempts, no doubt, have been

made at various times to persuade them *to return to the West, into the Church* ; (*quo ad Occidentale in Ecclesiam redirent* :) but what causes they have been which, unhappily for mankind, have prevented success, I had perhaps better pass over in silence, rather than by naming them cause scandal to weaker brethren, and draw down from certain quarters odium on myself. They differ from us in their manner of Consecrating the Sacrament a little, and in their manner of Breaking the Bread. They maintain with the Greeks that the HOLY GHOST proceeds from the FATHER only, and not also from the SON. But though there are among the Greeks very many who deny Purgatory, and others who attempt to prove Purgatory from the Scriptures, they say that they would not easily endure that there should be a division on this account, but could come to hold firmly the same doctrine with the Roman Church. Our Masses they attend most willingly ; and say that nothing gives them more pain than to find themselves shunned by some as if they were aliens from the faith, whereas they observe zealously nearly all our religious customs. They keep the four great Festivals of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and the Assumption. They greatly honour the Apostles ; and pay an especial respect to St. Nicholas, whom they extol, honour, and invoke. They keep Palm-Sunday, like the Roman Church, with the blessing of palms, olives, and other such-like trees or branches. And this custom of blessing creatures they defend not only as piously received by the Church, but also as truly grounded on holy Scripture. For in the fifth and nineteenth chapters of the Book of Numbers we may see plainly the force of Exorcisms ; and from Paul's Epistle to Timothy this truth, that the creature is sanctified by the word and prayer, is made known to all. Lastly, it is with them a matter of very common experience to see serpents rendered harmless, to see evil spirits cast out, to see persons possessed freed by words of prayer. For that devils should be cast out by prayer and fasting CHRIST has left us His word written in the Scripture. The Sign of the Cross and the Image of our SAVIOUR crucified they carry with them also when they go into battle, hoping to conquer by that by which CHRIST conquered. They believe that the Saints can really intercede for us with GOD ; and wish them to do so unceasingly ; and think that their prayers obtain a readier

hearing. Wherefore also they invoke them, and honour them. Those, moreover, that sin publicly they prosecute with excommunication; and whoever incurs this is cast out from the common society of all men, and from Ecclesiastical Communion. Only one thing there is which we certainly cannot approve, and which is most contrary to our customs, namely, that they give the Sacrament of the Eucharist to children even under the age of three years; and that they Consecrate in leavened bread; and administer from a spoon the bread mashed in the wine as the Body and Blood of CHRIST to the laity. These then are the customs of the Muscovites; this is that religion and piety about which thou, of thy laudable diligence respecting sacred subjects, O most Serene Prince, didst lament that thou wast altogether ignorant: And therefore, in compliance with thy command, we have ascertained by questioning thus much information respecting those people. *Given at Tübingen, September 18, in the year of our Lord 1525."*

DISSERTATION IV.

DESTINIES OF THE SLAVONIC EMPIRE. — PROBATION AND FAILURE OF JOHN IV. (THE FIRST SOLEMNLY CROWNED TSAR OF MUSCOVY) IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

SHORTLY after the Roman Empire of the West had fallen to the Germans, that people being full of creative force, and of such gifts and qualities as dispose man to pride and self-confidence, having also with them the capital of the world, the elder Rome, and the chair of Peter, they thought that they might securely, even without a General Council, do, and judge, and dictate what they pleased as in the name of the Church ; for that God could not fail to accomplish His own promises, nor accomplish His promises otherwise than through them.

But God at that time showed that He could dispense not only with the German-Latin Church and world, which was ready to call itself the whole, but even with the Greek or Eastern Church and Empire also. And while the West swerved from the œcumenical Creed, and subjected itself, in point of form at least, to the anathemas of the œcumenical Councils, and the East was abandoned to the sword of the False Prophet, the Almighty Head of the Church called to Himself a people which was no people, simple and barbarous, neither possessed of any extraordinary powers nor boasting itself of any, yet a people greater or to become greater than both Greeks and Romans together, with a country wild and thinly inhabited yet larger many times than all the Roman Empire, to raise up as it were from the dust of the earth spiritual children to Abraham, to vindicate His own omnipotence, to humble all who should presume upon His Grace and promises, and to make room enough in the wilderness for the Church pursued of the dragon to flee into, and to sojourn.

Again, as in the West the Franks and Germans had renewed

in a sense the Latin-Roman Empire when it had been overrun and mortally wounded and trampled down by barbarians, so it seemed to be prepared for the Slavonians to fulfil a similar destiny with regard to the Græco-Roman Empire of the East, when it should have been trampled down and destroyed by the Saracens and Turks and by other older barbarians.

And especially, as the three-thonged scourge of Mahometanism, the scourge, that is, which consisted of the Hagarenes or Arabs, the Turks, and the Tatars, fell chiefly on the Græco-Roman Church and Empire, this seemed also to be in store for the Slavonian race, to serve in the hands of the Almighty as that sword of His vengeance by which the oppressor who had taken the sword against His Church and against His Son's name should eventually perish.

But the Slavonians, after their conversion to Christianity, being guilty as men of great sins, were chastised by great judgments. Some of their tribes fell under the yoke of the Latins and the Germans, and lost even their language: some exchanged their original "Orthodoxy" for the Roman Obedience and ritual; some fell under the infidels, and even became in part infidels themselves. In the greatest of all their tribes and countries, that of the Russians, two centuries of family feuds and bloodshed among their numerous princes, brother warring with brother, and uncle with nephew, together with other sins of the flesh, were punished by the heavy bondage of the Mongols. *Western Russia* was dismembered, and subjected to the Hungarians, the Lithuanians, and the Poles: and it was only in the fifteenth century that *Eastern Russia*, concentrated around Moscow as her capital, began to emerge from the long night of oppression as an Orthodox kingdom.

The grandson of Sophia the last daughter of the Palæologi, and inheriting from his father a sceptre now independent, John IV., the first solemnly crowned Tsar or Emperor of Muscovy, was placed upon his trial by Providence; and, like Saul the first king of Israel, had the option offered to him of either fulfilling the most high and glorious mission in obedience to the will of God, and in execution of the destinies of His people, or, if he failed, of becoming a monster and a by-word of warning and horror to all posterity.

Recalled to repentance in his youth from those early sins into which evil guardians had led him by the burning of his capital and by the seasonable exhortations of a Priest named Silvester, John made his repentance as public as had been his crimes. He surrounded himself with wise and able and virtuous counsellors; assembled a Synod for the decision of Ecclesiastical questions; collected and promulgated a Code of civil laws; improved the administration of justice; organized the military forces of his empire; and taking the field in a just war against the Tatars of Kazan and Astrachan, subdued two infidel kingdoms. One only, and that reduced to great weakness and promising an easy conquest, remained, the kingdom of the Crimea.

The fame of these conquests resounded over all Europe; and the effect produced was as if a cloud which had before enveloped Russia had suddenly cloven asunder, and disclosed to the half incredulous eyes of the Westerns, at the moment of their greatest fear and need, a young Christian hero at the head of a great empire, with an army of three hundred thousand men, to be the vanguard and support of Christendom.

And if John had done what his counsellors told him was his duty, if he had then reduced the Crimea, he would have had the prospect of the undisputed succession to the crowns of Poland and Lithuania being secured to him: and the Emperor of Germany and the Pope were about to intreat him to head all Europe against the Turks, adding, *that he would have a natural right to whatever could be recovered of the Eastern Empire, and that none of the Western Powers would grudge it him.* This was his mission, and the mission of his country. Chastised and humbled for her sins during three centuries under the yoke of the Tatars, Russia had confessed her sins, and the justice of their chastisement, and had prayed and waited for forgiveness and deliverance: and at length God had given her her deliverance: and He offered her at the same time much more; exaltation, and dominion, and victory, and glory, for the defence of Christianity, the revival of the Eastern Empire, and the possible healing even of the schisms of the Churches. Unhappily John failed of his mission.

The last act in which he followed the advice of Silvester and Adasheff, his wise and religious counsellors and true friends,

that act which revealed a glimpse of the whole vista of his future greatness and glory, if he had done his duty, but which was in fact to be the turning point and commencement of his downward career, has much of dramatic interest. Seeing what had been the fate of Kazan and Astrachan, and knowing that his own turn ought to come next, conscious too of an extraordinary weakness and inability to resist at that time, the Khan of the Crimea, who had before been the ally of Lithuania and Poland and the enemy of Russia, collected all his forces, made a sudden inroad into the country of his unsuspecting allies, laid it waste with fire and sword, and returned to his own dominions laden with booty, and dragging after him a hundred thousand Christian captives to slavery or apostasy. He then sent an embassy with presents from his booty to the Tsar of Moscow, giving him to understand that remembering a former alliance which had subsisted between John's grandfather and his own ancestor, and wishing to renew it, he had *sacrificed* to that wish his former alliance with the enemies of Russia, the Poles and Lithuanians. But the expectation of the infidel was defeated. Acting upon the advice of those men to whom all his former glory was owing, John refused to receive the ambassadors of the Khan, or to defile himself with their presents; but sent a special embassy of his own into Poland with expressions of sympathy for the sufferings that had been caused by the late Tatar invasion, and with an announcement that forgetting the enmity which had to that time existed between them and Russia, and thinking only of their common Christianity, he was ready to assist them with the whole forces of his empire. The transport of enthusiasm produced among the Poles and Lithuanians by this unexpected and scarce credible generosity knew no bounds. John's ambassadors were received everywhere with the warmest demonstrations of gratitude; and an understanding was entered into that upon the death of Sigismund (who was old, and had no heir,) John should succeed by common consent to the united Crowns of the Grand Duchy and the Kingdom.

But in the mean time, apart from his public probation as a Sovereign, John had been subjected to another personal and moral probation as a man: and he had now already passed the turning point of his life and character. From a natural and

almost venial cause (in consequence of their disinclination to swear allegiance to his infant son when his own life was despaired of, and preferring the old Russian order of succession by which a minority would have been avoided,) John had allowed himself to harbour a secret grudge and jealousy against his counsellors Silvester and Adasheff. It is impossible not to sympathize in some degree with his feelings, and those of his Tsaritsa. For a man of his temperament it must have been a sore trial: even as it was a sore trial for Saul of old, being a king, and having sons of his own worthy of a crown, to see before him and at his table the man who had engrossed that glory which he considered as his own, and who was marked by prophecy to supplant his family in the kingdom. Having once harboured and dwelt upon this sinful malice, John presently began to listen to the whisperings of profligate flatterers who could not endure the severity of those great and good men by whom he was still directed. "They engrossed," it was said, "the glory which should have been the Tsar's: they insisted on his following their plans, that they might still keep both the power and the credit to themselves: whereas John's own genius was superior, and the plans of his own devising preferable to theirs." So he listened again to the tempter, and added to his former secret and suppressed illwill a political jealousy, and a vain-glorious desire to do great things independently of Silvester and Adasheff and against their counsels. At this point the influence of early habits was allowed to return upon him: his lusts and passions responded to the sentiment of his flatterers, that "those men had put a yoke and bridle upon him too hard to be borne." So he "began to eat and to drink," and to do worse; and relapsed into the sins of which he had repented. Hence it was that he failed also of his public mission and probation as a Sovereign.

For as Saul spared the Amalekites, and forfeited the kingdom for ever, so John spared the Tatars of the Crimea, and lost all that was offered to him in consequence. Anticipating the worldly schemes of Peter I., desiring to open Russia to the West, and to obtain a port on the Baltic, and thinking these objects grander and more important than the reduction of the Crimea, which seemed within his grasp at any time, John went to war on his north-western frontier with Christians, with the

Order of the Livonian Knights, and with the Swedes : and this drew after it a league neither honourable nor sincere with the Tatars, a breach with Poland, and a long and obstinate war, which ended in the entire ruin of John's political fortunes, and personal character. He was carried on from one wickedness to another, each step in evil making the next more natural or inevitable, and a lively imagination bordering almost on insanity with wounded vanity and obstinacy and great suspiciousness hurrying him along, till he became one of the greatest monsters of tyranny, cruelty, and superstitious hypocrisy that the world had ever seen, so that posterity has surnamed him "The Terrible." All his political prospects were gradually clouded. The Tatars of the Crimea recovered themselves, made destructive incursions into Russia, and even burned Moscow. John gave up Christian proselytes to be tortured and put to death, or to be compelled to apostasy, by the infidels. For the sake of his war in the North, he basely demeaned himself, sending presents, kissing the dust, and doing personal homage to the Tatar Khan. Instead of succeeding peaceably to the throne of Poland, he saw an enemy elected to it under the nomination and protection of the Turks, and that enemy a great military commander, Batori, with whom he was to be engaged in long and unsuccessful war. He killed his eldest son, who should have been his heir, with his own hand in a transport of mad jealousy, after having first educated him to imitate his own wickedness. He exhibited himself, after all the glory of his early reign, in the disgraceful light not only of an unsuccessful ruler, but of a personal coward ; and lastly, concluded at the close of his wretched life an ignominious peace through the solicited mediation of a Papal envoy, who is said to have cheated him into yielding more than was really necessary even at the last.

Thus, by the failure of this Russian Saul, the mission and destiny of his country was suspended. The opportunity offered in the sixteenth century was lost. Instead of exhibiting a career of public glory and of benefits to all Christendom, the long and appalling tragedy of John's life closed (A.D. 1582.) only to be succeeded by all the storms of Divine anger bursting upon his posterity and his kingdom. After the reign of his imbecile son Theodore (A.D. 1598.) the whole Moscow Family of the line

of Ruric (which had reigned in Russia ever since it had become a State,) was extinct. It had been extinguished by the successful cunning of a traitor who had flourished at John's right hand, and had cheated from first to last that suspicious tyrant who murdered for no cause so many other good and brave and faithful men. Thus the crimes to be avenged by the supreme Avenger were doubled. To the sins of John was added the sin of Godounoff. Civil feuds and wars of innumerable Pretenders tore the country from one end to the other. The Latin Poles besieged, occupied, and partly burned Moscow; the Swedes seized the northern provinces; and Russia seemed in danger of losing both her religious and her political existence.

At length the scene was changed, and God in wrath remembered mercy. The Clergy came forward to save their country: some brave and patriotic nobles responded to their call, and seconded their efforts. The Poles were expelled from the Kremlin: and around the walls of the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius the clouds which had so long lowered over Muscovy broke, and the tempest dispersed. (A. D. 1612.)

A touching and striking contrast was then presented to the past horrors. We see the unanimous election of a new Tsar, the son of a Boyar-prelate who had suffered much for his country and was still a prisoner in Poland, and who had been incapacitated for secular rule by former jealousies: we see the Heads of the Clergy and of the Nobility, going to the Convent of their refuge, and entreating an alarmed and unwilling mother in the name of God and their country to give up her son, a young and innocent boy, to the perils of a throne: then a just and peaceful reign: peace concluded with great but necessary sacrifices on all sides: a dutiful and religious son, solemnly crowned and anointed, ruling well under the advice of a Patriarch who was at once his natural and his spiritual father: a new Dynasty founded: Russia taking breath and recovering herself; and though not for many years to be again in the same relative position to Christendom as that which she might have occupied in the middle of the sixteenth century, nor to have again offered to her the mission and opportunity she then lost, yet becoming yearly more and more powerful, till in the reign of Alexis Michaëlovich, the father of Peter I., her new Dynasty,

her Clergy, and her Nobility, all those powers in fact which had founded the existing order of things, were once more to be put on their trial, a trial of a very different nature from that of John IV.; were once more to have good and evil set before them; and either by choosing good to merit the establishment of a sure house to the Romanoffs and a restoration of her mission and opportunities to Russia, or by choosing evil to draw down upon themselves fresh calamities and punishments, punishments not so much of an external as of an internal kind; a series of domestic vices and tragedies; the extinction of the Dynasty which began with such blessed promise; the degradation and ruin of the two Orders of the Nobility and the Clergy; the ultimate introduction of Western immorality, infidelity, and perhaps anarchy; or, at any rate, the development of a new infidel Babylon instead of a mighty orthodox Empire. What this new trial was shall be explained in the next following Section.

DISSERTATION V.

DESTINIES OF THE SLAVONIC EMPIRE.—PROBATION AND FAILURE OF THE TSAR ALEXIS MICHAELOVICH, WITH THE NOBILITY AND HIERARCHY OF RUSSIA, IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

By the munificence of former times, especially during the Tatar domination, the Russian Bishops and Monasteries had, before the seventeenth century, become possessed of vast domains in land; and over all such domains they exercised a separate jurisdiction, according to their own Ecclesiastical Code, or *Nomocanon*, which differed in some respects from the civil law of Russia. Such wealth, joined with such a privilege, and with the political power accompanying it, tended naturally to excite a jealousy against the Hierarchy in the higher orders of the laity after Muscovy had become an independent State. The Tsars themselves indeed, at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, do not seem to have felt, nor had they certainly any occasion to feel such jealousy. For, however great might be the influence of the Hierarchy, it had always been used in aid, not in prejudice, of the Grand Princes. The unity of the Empire had been gradually formed and held together by that influence under the Tatar yoke: its peace and security had often been promoted or restored, never endangered or disturbed, by the interference of the Metropolitans and Patriarchs: and their independent and clear-sighted patriotism offered the best possible protection to the interests of the reigning Family, and of public order, when the Sovereign chanced to be of weak character, or a minor. But individuals and factions of the Nobility, and perhaps the Nobility as a class, were jealous of a power, at once spiritual and political, which by its worldly equality affronted their pride, and by its severe principles and laws thwarted their passions.

And, setting aside this natural but evil jealousy, there were some points in the privileges of the Clergy which an enlightened and religious Sovereign and legislator might fairly have required them to surrender for the common good. To have two different and independent codes of law in force at the same time over the whole extent of the Empire (for the lands of the Church were scattered everywhere, and did not lie together in one mass,) could not but be inconvenient, and tending to become more and more inconvenient in proportion as population should thicken, and civilization increase. And this the more, as there was no third supreme jurisdiction, which could receive appeals in mixed or doubtful cases, and arbitrate between the Civil and the Ecclesiastical Courts.

In the reigns of John III. and John IV., not from any personal fear or jealousy of the Hierarchy in those Sovereigns, but from mere political covetousness, and perhaps from a leaning to the Judaizing heresy (a subtle but premature anticipation of modern materialism,) in the former case, and from casual necessities in the latter, the first signs were shown of that disposition to curtail the wealth of the Bishops and Monasteries which was to reappear in the seventeenth century, and which was to be carried out to its extreme results by the acts of Peter I., Peter III., and Catherine II. in the eighteenth.

But it was during the minority of Alexis Michaëlovich, before the middle of the seventeenth century, (A. D. 1648.) that the Boyars of the Council, his relatives and guardians, in compiling a new Code of civil laws, added to it not only an Act of mortmain disqualifying the Bishops and Monasteries from buying or receiving fresh landed property for the future, but also an enactment for a general State survey of all Church lands, with a view to the abstraction of such properties as had been acquired since a certain date, and in contravention of the letter of a mortmain edict of a former reign. For the Tsars had by no means held themselves to be precluded from giving, or the Bishops and Monasteries from receiving from them, or with their express permission, fresh benefactions: and many such benefactions had in fact been made, and permission to acquire and hold fresh lands had been so accorded.

By the same new Code the Boyars, instead of merely requiring the Clergy to surrender their privilege of a separate jurisdiction

over their own tenants in purely civil matters, and over all in certain other mixed matters, (for this might reasonably have been made a matter of negotiation, or might have been required from a synod of the Clergy,) leaving the other Church Courts and the superior Court of the Patriarch to continue as they stood, erected a supreme lay Court to over-ride them all, and to determine, further, all questions relating to the properties of the Church; which, under pretext of the mortmain Statutes, were to be placed under the inspection and control of civil officers nominated by the Crown.

These enactments of the Code of Alexis Michaëlovich compiled during his minority by the Boyars, and ratified by him in his early youth under their influence, became shortly afterwards the occasion of a great struggle between the worse part of the Nobility and the better part of the Hierarchy; a struggle which forms the crisis of the reign of Alexis, and the key to the subsequent history of Russia down to the present day.

There arose at that time in Russia a great Patriarch, by name *Nicon*, who embodied in his personal character and life, in his station, and other incidental advantages, all those qualities which were most calculated to promote the prosperity and glory of the Church and of his country, and to concentrate upon him and upon the Hierarchy the envy and malice of the wicked.

Possessed not only of the respect and confidence but of the tender friendship of his Sovereign, a Sovereign of an affectionate and religious disposition, Nicon in first accepting the Episcopal office made it a condition with Alexis that those laws which had been made against the rights of the Church during his minority should not be enforced in his diocese of Novogorod: and Alexis acceded to the stipulation.

Seeing the greatness and the difficulty of the struggle which probably lay before him, Nicon, while yet only Metropolitan of Novogorod, suggested, and himself superintended in the Tsar's name, the Translation of the Relics of St. Philip, a former Metropolitan of Moscow, to the Cathedral of the Assumption in that capital. St. Philip had been by birth of one of the chief families of the Boyars; and the great merit of his Primacy had been this, that he had dauntlessly rebuked John the Terrible for his cruelties, and for the misgovernment of his dominions, and had

received from that tyrant in consequence the crown of martyrdom. Few perhaps or none at the time discerned any peculiar significance in this act of the Translation of his Relics, though all understood that it was a homage rendered by the nation and the Church, by the Clergy, the Boyars, and the Tsar himself, to that virtue in Hierarchs which is ready to resist and reprove worldly violence, and to suffer for truth and righteousness' sake. And if any had seen what Nikon really meant by the suggestion, or that he anticipated that the next Patriarch of Moscow ought to be prepared to follow in the steps of Philip, and to earn a place at his feet, they would probably have thought such an anticipation most ill-timed and absurd. For what resemblance could any man discover between the tender-hearted and affectionate and merciful Alexis, and the half-insane monster who murdered Philip? or between any party of the Boyars then living and the terrible *Oprichina*? Yet so it was.

Scarcely was the Translation of St. Philip's Relics completed, and the virtue of firmly resisting the Temporal Power in certain cases declared to be one of the four corner foundations of the Russian Church, when the Patriarchal throne became vacant, and that which Nikon had foreseen occurred. And then, when his Sovereign and his friend (and with him all the Court,) were inviting, and pressing, and forcing him to accept the Primacy, he evinced (out of place and unintelligible as it may have appeared,) exactly the same reluctance and apprehension as his predecessor St. Philip had evinced, when singled out by John the Terrible to become Metropolitan. And, like Philip, he consented to their supplications only on certain conditions, when the Tsar and his nobles had solemnly vowed to him in the church that, if he would become their Patriarch, they would conscientiously obey him in Ecclesiastical matters as their spiritual Father.

Thus Nikon became Patriarch (A.D. 1653); and, as a matter of course, caused those laws which had before been held suspended for him only in the single diocese of Novogorod to become inoperative throughout the whole extent of the Russian Church and Empire. Still he knew that this mere suspension of their execution could not last; and that before long they must either be carried into execution, or annulled. To annul them, embodied as they were in the Code, was no easy matter: it implied a previous struggle,

and the complete overthrow of those influences which had placed them there. And this it was to which Nikon looked forward. For this he had been making preparation when he procured the Translation of the Relics of St. Philip, and when he bound the Tsar and the Boyars by a solemn oath to obey him as their spiritual Father.

The obnoxious laws then were suspended, and held in abeyance; and Nikon, seated on the Patriarchal throne, continued to do for all Russia what he had before done only for the one diocese of Novogorod. He relieved the poor; righted the oppressed; encouraged virtue and learning; enforced discipline, especially among the Clergy, examining personally candidates for Ordination, and summarily punishing delinquent Clerks: he corrected abuses in the manner of performing Divine Service; introduced a new and improved mode of Church singing; held a Council for the correction and printing of the Church Books; and generally promoted all necessary and useful reforms. At the same time he taught diligently himself the Word of God, the style both of his preaching and of his ordinary discourse being remarkable for the constant references he made in them to the Holy Scriptures, references not superficial and conventional but natural and practical, full of rich instruction and holy seriousness, and having a peculiar pointedness of application. By these means he attracted towards himself the deepest personal attachment of religious minds, (and not least that of his Sovereign,) but also the jealousy and hatred of all the more ignorant, superstitious, and vicious among the Hierarchy and the lower Clergy, who found in his correction of the Church Books a powerful handle for spreading disaffection towards him among such of the people also as were like themselves, ignorant, unspiritual, and superstitious.

The accession of unparalleled political influence and splendour to such a character and position brought upon the Patriarch from a large faction of the Boyars a personal hatred far more intense than would have otherwise been excited either by his promotion of Ecclesiastical reforms, or even by his defence of Ecclesiastical rights. The Tsar, when absent from his Capital on occasion of the Polish war, entrusted the virtual Regency to the Patriarch above all the Boyars of the Council, and especially

above those who stood nearest to the throne as the relatives of his consort and his mother, bad men, to whose influence Nikon, simply and faithfully discharging his trust, would yield nothing. Also, on occasion of the great plague, the Tsar committed the personal care of his wife and family to the Patriarch, as to his dearest and most faithful friend; and on happily receiving again this trust, bestowed on him affectionately and gratefully, but foolishly, the title of *Great Highness*, (*Veliki Hossoudár*), which had been the style of his own grandfather the Patriarch Philaret Niketich, a title which Nikon disclaimed as unsuitable, and forbad his clerks ever to give it to him, but which, being used and given by the Tsar himself, and so also by others of the Court, was naturally most offensive to Nikon's enemies among the chief Boyars, and became afterwards, however unjustly and absurdly, one of their charges against him. In the exercise of his regency Nikon had also the fortune of obtaining or receiving the most important and brilliant accession to the Empire. It was to him and through him that the proposition was made which brought the whole of Little Russia with the ancient capital of Kieff and the Kazák forces of the Oukraine under the Muscovite sceptre.

Enough has now been stated to make it very intelligible that a league should have been formed between a large party of the chief Boyars, including the Tsar's own nearest relatives, and the obscurantist and retrograde party among the Hierarchy to bring about the downfall of Nikon. And though, as long as Alexis remained in the same mind, they could do nothing but show their spite by words and by calumnies, yet the time came at length when they found they could safely demand that the suspended provisions of the civil Code should be carried into execution. And the Tsar gave his consent.

What may have originally led to this change in the Tsar's determination it is now difficult, and perhaps impossible, to discover. The personal calumnies of Nikon's enemies he must have estimated at their just value: indeed the evident continuance of his own personal affection and respect for the Patriarch to the end shows that he did so. Disappointment at the want of success of the Swedish war (which Nikon had advised,) could scarcely alone have occasioned such a coolness, though Alexis

had certainly some share of ambition and vanity, and was irascible when crossed in his wishes. It is more probable that he had not counted the cost of that conduct to which he seemed to have pledged himself when he suspended for Nicon's sake the provisions of the Code; and that he was influenced by the mixture of reasonableness which there might seem to be either in those provisions themselves, or at any rate in the demand that, being part of the Code, and unrepealed, they should be carried into effect; and also by a sense of the necessity of either giving his consent to this or breaking immediately and completely with his own relatives and all their party in the Council, and giving Nicon's principles a complete and permanent triumph at the risk perhaps of his throne. But whatever were the secret causes which first cooled the ardour of his affection for the Patriarch, having once committed himself to a retrograde step, and finding that the Patriarch had foreseen all from the beginning, and would yield nothing, he was carried on by a sort of necessity from one thing to another: the political, and at length even the personal estrangement of the Tsar from the Patriarch became wider, and the anti-ecclesiastical tendencies of that party to which the Tzar had now committed himself, more manifest.

Not only were the obnoxious provisions of the Code carried into execution, while a lay Court, called the *Monastery Court*, overruled the Court of the Patriarch, but spiritual patronage, and even Ordination itself, was made to depend in some cases on the direct order of the Sovereign: whereas a few years before, when some clerks had sought to interest the Tsar in their favour, Alexis had replied thus: "I fear the Patriarch Nicon; he will say to me, Do I interfere with you in the command of your armies, or the government of your kingdom? Why then do you seek to interfere with me in the disciplining of monks and clerks?"

Under these circumstances Nicon, as a last expedient to touch the reason and conscience of the better-minded among the Boyars, and especially of his Sovereign, solemnly declared in the Cathedral that if he, as was said, were the cause of everything that went wrong in the State, and even in nature, he would leave them to themselves: he could not be their Patriarch, if the acts that belonged to him to do were to be done by others

on the order of the Tsar, or of the Boyars : they might see how they could administer the Patriarchal power without him. And so saying, he left his crozier in the church, and went away in the habit of a common monk forty versts from Moscow, to Voskresensk, where he was building a great Monastery to be called *New Jerusalem*, with a church after a model of that of the Holy Sepulchre, and of the Resurrection which he had procured from Palestine.

But evil prevailed : and there were weaknesses in the character of Alexis which made him persist, when he had once committed himself, and had met with opposition. Instead of being brought to a better mind, the Council of the Boyars were for taking Nikon at his word : and so, affecting to view his retirement as a simple resignation, they sent and demanded of him his consent to the consecration of a successor. Failing to obtain this, and being practically embarrassed by his refusal to exercise the Primacy subject to their lay encroachments and interferences, they charged all the inconveniences which ensued upon him, and made his retirement itself into a State crime. How great was Nikon's power and personal influence, and how deep the struggle which was now going on throughout the whole civil and ecclesiastical constitution of Russia, was sufficiently shown by the fact that this position of the two parties, the Patriarch living in retirement at Voskresensk, and the Civil Power administering the Church temporarily, through such of the Ecclesiastics as would serve it, without a Patriarch, lasted no less than eight years. (A.D. 1658—1667.)

One incident of this period, for its indirect bearing upon the sin of Alexis himself, and its punishment in his posterity, deserves notice :

One or two Boyars, who had parted with a certain property to Nikon for his Convent of New Jerusalem, the acquisition of the property being contrary to the mortmain laws and to the Code, but rendered lawful by the licence of the Tsar, took occasion from the re-enforcement of the Code to redemand and recover their property. Nikon caused these men to be openly anathematized, and made his clerks sing certain imprecatory Psalms in the Office used on the occasion : “ Δίκασον, Κύριε, τοὺς ἀδικούντάς με· κ. τ. λ. Πρόσθετε ἀνομίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνομίαν αὐτῶν . . .

ἐξαλειφθήτωσαν ἐκ βίβλου ζώντων· κ. τ. λ. Γενηθήτωσαν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ ὀρφανοί, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ χήρα· Γενηθήτω τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ εἰς ἐξολόθρευσιν· κ. τ. λ. Ἀνθ' ὧν ἠγάπησε κατάραν, καὶ ἤξει αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν εὐλογίαν, καὶ μακρυνήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. κ. τ. λ.” The news of this was soon carried to the Court, and it was asserted there, not unnaturally, by Nikon’s enemies that he had anathematized and cursed his Sovereign; seeing that their sacrilege, which he had cursed, and the individuals named were identified by them with the Tsar and his government. A commissioner was sent from the Council in the Tsar’s name to the Patriarch to demand whether he had not cursed the Tsar; and, if not, whom had he cursed, or what had he done? The commissioner, who came with an air of rude command, was made to wait till Divine Service was over, and then was told by the Patriarch that he had *not* cursed Alexis, nor had intended what was done for him; but that he had cursed certain individuals, robbers of the Church, whom he named; and, if they had a mind to stay and hear it, he would have the same Office sung over again in their ears. So they returned with this answer: but from that day forth it was one of the chief accusations against Nikon that he had cursed the Sovereign: and Nikon, without having really cursed him, (for he could distinguish between the sin, though great, of a religious and affectionate soul and the obduracy of malicious wickedness,) yet showed, as we shall see hereafter, that he feared lest Alexis might indeed be comprehended under the curse in point of fact, and might be drawing down its judgments on himself and on his posterity.

At length, after the struggle had continued eight years, the Patriarchate having been all that time in a sort of abeyance, and an attempt to procure the deposition of Nikon by a synod of Russian Bishops having failed, the Tsar was induced to call in the four Eastern Patriarchs and a number of Greek Metropolitans and Bishops, who, uniting with the Russian Bishops in a mixed synod at Moscow in the year 1666, in the presence of the Tsar himself and of the Boyars, judged and deposed Nikon in such manner as was desired of them, and were honourably dismissed to their own countries with the rewards of their service. Two only of the four Patriarchs were personally present, Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch, the latter of whom had

been in Russia before when Nikon was at the height of his power, and had received of his bounty: but all the four were parties to what was done.

For the full history of this memorable trial the inquirer must have recourse to the life of Nikon by his faithful disciple and clerk Shusherinoff, which has been printed, and to such other contemporary documents as are preserved in MS. in Russia or in the Levant. But one or two incidents are too characteristic to be here altogether omitted. Nikon appeared before the synod prepared and habited as if for a capital condemnation. Alexis, who though unprepared to recede had yet been sinning against his better nature and conscience throughout, and retained at heart much of his former respect and affection for the Patriarch, was shocked at this; and to the consternation of his Boyars left his throne, and walked up to the Patriarch, took his hand, and expostulated with him for thinking him capable of such intentions. A conversation of some length in an under tone followed, the Patriarch explaining how some things misunderstood by the Tsar had really been, and exposing the arts and motives of his enemies; and the Tsar, as if admitting that he had been more or less in the wrong, protesting that even yet he hoped they might be able to avoid extremities. But Nikon told him plainly, though gently, that he was deceiving himself if he thought that possible: that he could not now go back, even if he would: that his wrath must be gone through with, and be satisfied. On the other hand, when one of Nikon's clerks, forgetting himself for indignation at some false witness, exclaimed audibly, "*That, O religious Tsar, is a lie!*" the Tsar showed no anxiety to learn the truth, but rather anger and fury at the clerk's boldness. And when Nikon's answers seemed to have put his accusers to shame, or to silence, Alexis impatiently turned to the Boyars and asked if none of them would come to the support of their Sovereign? Which call having been answered as might be expected, the Patriarch asked ironically, "Why do you not bid them take up stones? So they would soon do the business, but they will never finish me with words." However of words too there were "enough, and more than enough," the ex-Archbishop of Gaza, a Greek named Paisius, taking the lead in the proceedings with his venal and turgid rhetoric, and quoting Christian

and heathen authors, verse and prose, indiscriminately for the deification of kings, till the Council, having decreed (what Nikon himself had always taught,) that "*the Tsar ought to be supreme in civil government, and the Patriarch in spiritual,*" (so difficult is it with full knowledge to lie distinctly,) condemned Nikon on the charges brought against him; degraded him from the Patriarchal and Episcopal and sacerdotal dignities; and sentenced him to be confined in a distant Monastery, as a common monk. This took place in January, A.D. 1667.

Under these circumstances, Nikon said to the people, who flocked around to receive his blessing, only this one word "*Pray.*" To his chief enemies of the Clergy, who now heaped on him taunts and insults, he foretold their own approaching punishment and degradation: and some of them he lived to see falling at his feet with tears of repentance. The Patriarchs he rebuked for their unworthy compliance for the sake of a miserable gain; offering them significantly a large pearl from the front of the Camilaúchion which they took from him, and saying thus, "After all, if you *do* get for this some alms, to cheer you under the miseries and oppressions you suffer from the Turks, it will not last you *long*: and you might be more suitably and profitably employed than in wandering into distant countries as mendicants." While this was passing, or soon after, the Tsar sent one of his Boyars, a man of the better sort, with a present of money and furs for Nikon and his attendants, for their journey: for they had nothing with them of their own, and were to be sent immediately to a Monastery quite in the north of Russia, it being then the month of January, and the frost being very severe. But Nikon, pointing to the presents, said, "Take these things back to him who sent them: *these* are not what Nikon wants." The officer, after having in vain intreated him not to dishonour and hurt his master by such a refusal of his bounty, stepped up to him and said, "The Tsar commanded me also to ask your *forgiveness*, and Your blessing." Nikon replied with those words of the Psalm which have been quoted already above, "*Οὐκ ἠθέλησεν εὐλογίαν,*" (that is, not sufficiently, nor with singleness of heart) "*καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μακρύνεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.*" alluding, directly, to his own exile, and indirectly to the probable punishment of the Tsar's sin. In getting into the sledge which was to take him away from Mos-

cow, Nikon repeated aloud to himself with a dry irony these words, recollected probably from some former conversation, "Ah! Nikon, Nikon, don't lose your friends: don't say all that may be true: If you would only have given a few handsome banquets, and would have supped with *them*, all these things would not have befallen you."

It is not to be supposed that such a man as Nikon, or such a cause as his, were without many devoted adherents, especially among the Clergy. Of these some were even put to death; others were examined with tortures; many were sent into confinement in different monasteries, and kept prisoners as long as fifteen or sixteen years. A few were permitted to accompany him to Bielo-ózero, and to share his confinement. Among the people too, notwithstanding the prejudices of some of them concerning the Church Books, there was such a feeling in his favour that the Government proceeded with the utmost caution, and even timidity, in carrying his sentence into execution. The guards within the Kremlin were directed to behave to the assembled multitudes with all possible courtesy, and to inform them that Nikon would leave "by the *North* side;" whereas, in fact, the gates were closed, and he was suddenly driven with all speed, strongly escorted, across the bridge to the *South* side of the river, and so out of the city and the suburbs in an opposite direction. Having refused the Tsar's gifts, he was indebted for a cloak to the casual pity of an individual, an Archimandrite, of the Clergy; and both he and his attendants suffered much from the severe cold. They were driven rapidly through all those towns and villages passing through which could not be avoided, and were not allowed to stop anywhere, nor to purchase anything for themselves by the way.

At length they halted for the night; and were quartered in some houses, from which the occupants had first been carefully ejected. But in the middle of the night, when Nikon and his few attendants had been left to themselves, a trap-door in the floor of the room opened, and an old woman came up, who first asked which was the Patriarch Nikon; and Nikon answering, "*I am he,*" she fell at his feet, and declared to him, with many protestations that it was true, that she had been warned in a dream the night before to expect him. She had seen, she said,

a very goodly man, saying to her, "My servant Nicon is coming hither in great cold and need of all things: now, therefore, give him what thou hast by thee for his needs." In consequence of this, she said, she had concealed herself in the cellar before the Tsar's officers came and took possession of her house and ejected its other occupants. And thereupon she produced a number of fur clokes, and other garments belonging to her sons (who lived with her in the house,) and money, and pressed his acceptance of them for himself and his Clerks. And Nicon accepted this provision, which was thus provided for him, instead of that which he had refused from the Tsar.

Nicon lived many years after his deposition, and outlived Alexis. He never in any way recognized the justice of his sentence: nor did the Clerks who attended him ever cease to give him the title of Patriarch, or to pray for him as such in their Offices. Alexis, on the other hand, ceased not to send from time to time to ask his *forgiveness*, and to offer him presents, which for some time Nicon refused. His confinement was at first extremely rigorous; the windows of his cell being fastened up with iron bars, and he not being allowed to go out even for exercise. But at length Alexis, without the knowledge of the Council, sent secret orders to soften in some degree this excessive rigour; and the iron bars on his windows were removed: for which an official reprimand from the Council followed, as if it had been done without authority. At length, seeing that what was done could not be undone, and that, whatever had been the Tsar's fault once, he could now no longer, perhaps, retrace his steps, nor extricate himself from those political necessities and influences which surrounded him, Nicon refused not to acknowledge what was good in the character of his Sovereign, and wrote him a letter saying that he forgave him *personally, as a man*, whatever he had wrongfully suffered, and *thus far* sent him his blessing, and for the future would accept his presents. Yet even thus,—considering that the ALMIGHTY might even yet give the Tsar another opportunity, and not willing either to do anything towards unduly lulling, or to neglect to do anything towards quickening and informing his conscience,—he hinted that this was but an *imperfect* and personal forgiveness; and that there was a *more full and Ecclesiastical absolution, with imposition of hands, which*

Alexis had need to desire, and which he would then be ready to give when he should again *see the Tsar's face* in Moscow. But *this* involved the complete undoing of the past, and the fall from power of Nikon's enemies; a mercy which Providence had not in store for Alexis. Nevertheless Alexis was greatly pleased at the Patriarch's having relaxed thus far; and thenceforth sent him many presents, and especially ornaments and vestments for one of the Chapels of the Monastery in which he was now permitted to officiate; and desired his prayers for himself and his family; and on his deathbed, by special messengers, as well as by his written Testament, he once more solemnly asked Nikon's "*forgiveness and absolution*," calling him his "Spiritual Father, Great Lord, Most Holy Hierarch, and blessed Pastor," giving him (which is remarkable) his title of *Patriarch*, and regretting that "by the judgments of God" (that is to say, not by the Tsar's own will,) he was not then in his proper place, filling the Patriarchal throne of Moscow. And Nikon (though Alexis died before it could reach him,) sent once more his *personal* and verbal forgiveness (refusing to give it in writing, lest the Boyars should make any undue use of it), and alluded once more with a sigh to that *public sin of which it was beyond him either to remit the guilt, or to avert the consequences*: "We shall meet before the dread tribunal of God!"

Looking closely into the character of Alexis, we may remark in his written Testament and Letters, and in the words and actions of his life, an abundance of affectionate and religious *feeling* running in its expression into imaginativeness and hyperbole. He had many of the qualities of a great and good Sovereign; but was not exempt from ambition, vanity, and irascibility; nor from a certain weakness, consequent on these faults, leading him, when once committed, to persist in what was wrong. His vanity was perhaps enlisted in the struggle against the spiritual independence of the Patriarchate: and when they told him that educated, as he had been, at the feet of his grandfather Philaret, and fit to be a Bishop himself, he had not only the right to govern, but the capacity to govern well in Ecclesiastical matters, he may have been all the more inclined to listen to those other arguments which represented the struggle as being simply for an unmixed spiritual or an unmixed civil supremacy, and a choice between either putting down Nikon or resigning to him Moscow, as

Constantine the Great was fabled to have resigned his capital of the elder Rome to Pope Silvester. The outward moral signs which a severe scrutiny of Alexis' public government and private life forces us to notice are these: *firstly*, that whatever may have been the merits or demerits of Nicon and his party, *their enemies* (and the Tsar's nearest connections among them) *were plainly bad men*; and to these bad men Alexis, by his conduct, *secured the government of his kingdom, and enthralled himself*: *secondly*, that the religious feeling and domestic affectionateness of Alexis did not prevent his forming at least one illicit connection; as we read of a natural son who, with his mother, was sent away from the Court about the time of Alexis' second marriage. It might be worth while to inquire more accurately into the circumstances and *dates* connected with the commencement of this, or of any other similar and previous connection.

On the other hand, the more we scrutinize the character of Nicon, the less reason shall we find to charge him with any of those faults which were imputed to him by his enemies. There was nothing about him like ignorance of the distinction and due limits between the civil and the spiritual power, nor any sort of apparent disposition to either worldly or spiritual pride or ambition. During the long-protracted struggle we see from his life what he claimed for himself personally, namely, severe penances and mortifications for his own sins and the sins of his people, hard fare, a stone couch and pillow, and heavy chains. And the Ecclesiastics and others who were personally attached to him appear to have been men of the like spirit, with whom his enemies of the Hierarchy and of the Boyars offer the most marked and sometimes grotesque contrasts.

Several of Alexis' sons and daughters were godchildren to Nicon: and a sister of Alexis, the Princess Tatiana Michaëlovna, when Nicon was in confinement, and his enemies governing Russia in the Council, used to relate to her nephew Theodore Alexievich stories of the virtues of that great Patriarch, and of the wickedness of his enemies: how he had contended and suffered for the Church of God: and how the building of his great Monastery of the "*New Jerusalem*," with its Church imitated from that of the Holy Sepulchre and the Resurrection, was suspended in consequence of his unjust deposition and imprisonment.

When Theodore succeeded to his father Alexis, (A.D. 1676,) he was too young to attempt to govern by himself; but his first political acts were attempts to obtain from the Council the liberation, or at least the less rigorous confinement, of his Godfather. And on Nikon's death, which took place (in 1681.) just after an order had been obtained for his liberation, with permission to return and die in his own Convent of Voskresensk, Theodore, having learned to view the past struggle in its true light, desired the titular Patriarch to bury him with the honours due to his rank: and on the Patriarch, as might have been expected, declining, and objecting the authority of the Eastern Patriarchs and the Synod which had deposed and degraded Nikon, the young Tsar estimated that objection at its just weight. He commanded the next senior Prelate, the Metropolitan of Novogorod, to do his will; and himself took the lead in bearing the body to the grave. And not content with this, he sent his messengers and alms into the East, and procured from the four Patriarchs four Letters or Acts, which under a cloud of decent verbiage rehabilitated the memory of the deceased; an act which being done to satisfy the religious conscience of the son, was no doubt at least as valid as the former contrary act which had been done to serve the political requirements of the father. The motives and the recompense were in both cases the same. It seemed as if Theodore had been placed on the throne merely to complete in this graceful and touching way the acknowledgments of Alexis, and then was removed to make way for impending punishments.

Thus ended this remarkable episode in Russian history, so far as it was merely a personal matter. But of its political and ecclesiastical consequences men saw not as yet, or scarcely saw, so much as the beginning. Nor are we yet come to their end even now, after two centuries. For the fall of Nikon was that point and crisis on which the subsequent developments of many generations, both religious and political, were to turn.

What then are the consequences to be attributed to the fall of Nikon? it will be asked. This question may be most briefly and most strikingly answered, at least for such as are capable of reflection, by another; by asking, what would have been the probable or necessary consequences, if Alexis had acted dif-

ferently ; if he had consistently supported Nikon, and enabled him to put down his enemies ? They would have been these : The government of the State, as well as of the Church, would have been placed and secured in the hands of his friends, men like him : the power of some great and bad men, near to the Tsar, would have been effectually broken : Alexis on his death-bed would not have had to feel the loss of a true personal friend, nor to dread leaving an unsettled government to a sickly boy, surrounded by bad men, who could not be trusted to act justly by his second wife and her family. On the contrary he would have left his elder son Theodore, and his second family, to the charge of his Godfather, with a Government long since securely settled in the hands of good men, among whom Matvéëff would naturally have held a prominent place. The deaths of Nikon and of Theodore himself would have caused no danger with such a Government. Matvéëff would not have been in exile at the moment when all depended on his presence. Sophia (if her own character had not been differently developed,) would have had no opportunity of returning the sin of her father upon the heads of his children through her unhallowed ambition. She would not have been able to deprive Peter of a becoming education. Peter would not have been self-educated, or educated by such men as Lefort, but by the disciples and friends of Nikon and Matvéëff. When he came, duly prepared, to power, he would not have found an obscurantist and retrograde Hierarchy which had already become the tools of the Boyars, and deserved nothing better than to receive the Tsar, or the Tsar's sword, for their Patriarch : nor would he have found a Nobility incapable of appreciating any thing great and useful in his schemes, or incapable of restraining him by the weight of a legitimate influence from any thing unnational or premature ; nor one which for having trampled the Church under their feet deserved to be trampled down themselves in turn, and to lose that political importance which they had before possessed. He would never have had occasion, real or imaginary, for making the horrible sacrifice of his only son and heir to the idol Civilization. Nor would his throne have been left a prey to adventurers, to be occupied by a strange woman of low origin. Nor would the succession to the throne have been made to depend on the mere personal will

of the Sovereign, and rendered still more insecure by the prostration of its natural bulwarks, the Hierarchy and the Nobility. Nor would his posterity in the female line (if the succession had ever come to them,) have either been what they were, or succeeded as they succeeded to the throne, or have done what they did when seated on it. Nor would another strange woman, the very type and embodiment of his worldly policy, and such an heir as his patriotism might have preferred to lineal descendants, have murdered the last remains of his brother's posterity and his own. These are the things which humanly speaking, would not and *could not* have happened, if Nikon had been maintained in power. Whatever might have been the future destinies of Russia, they could not have been these.

But Nikon fell : and his fall drew after it the deserved punishment both of the Clergy, and of the Nobility, and of the reigning House ; a punishment which can never be reversed till the sin which caused it is adequately confessed, and justice done to those rights of the Church which Nikon represented. For it was not a mere personal struggle, but a struggle of two contrary principles concentrated, as often happens, around the person of a man whose position and character made him the apt representative and embodiment of one of them.

But if this view be correct, and the fault of Alexis was to be so terribly punished, how is it that we see after a century and a half such a Sovereign as Alexander, in spite of the influences of a philosophical education in a vicious Court, throwing himself back upon principles of true patriotism and Orthodoxy at the great crisis of his reign, the invasion of Russia by the French ? Or how is it that we see again his brother, the present Emperor, standing forth as the champion of order and religion, attracting the respect of all well-disposed people throughout Europe by his public character as a governor, and surrounded by a numerous and amiable family, blessed with every apparent prospect of leaving a throne secured to his posterity for many generations ? And all this too while the Patriarchate or Primacy is still not only infringed upon, but suppressed ; while the just liberty of the Church for spiritual action is still denied her ; while the Emperor is still "*Supreme Judge*" of the Most Holy Synod ; and an Act in which he is even styled "*Head of the Church*" still

lies upon the Altar of the Cathedral in which he was Crowned at Moscow ?

In answer to this question the reader may be reminded of what has been said above, namely, that the consequences of the struggle of the seventeenth century have not yet been fully worked out. The relative positions of the secular and spiritual powers have not even yet come to their final settlement. During the last two reigns, though there has been no avowal of past faults towards the Church, there has been a sort of awkward attempt to dissemble and palliate them ; a half-movement in a retrograde direction. " We do not now any longer such things as were done by Peter the Great : " " It must be confessed that Peter had une volonté forte, and did some things rather brusquely : but the Eastern Patriarchs made good whatever was irregular by their acquiescence, and by their recognition of the Synod : " " I am only *Ober-politzeé-meister* in the Church : " " If the Emperor is called the Head of the Church, or the Supreme Judge of the Synod, such titles mean only that he is the supreme protector and guardian of the dogmas of the dominant faith, the conservator of right faith and of all good order in the holy Church. " Such is the language of the civil power in the present day. And so long as we see the mass of the people uneducated and believing, free from the idea or consciousness of acquiescing in a State Supremacy in religion, while the State itself on the other hand dissembles its usurpations, and even slightly retrogrades from them, or from their consequences, we may fairly say that the principles established have not as yet been carried out in practice to their extreme consequences.

But this answer alone is no doubt insufficient. What if in the sight of heaven the present Emperor and his Family are free from the sin of Alexis and its debt of punishment ? For it is not the same thing to inherit, as to create evil. What if they have been placed where they are to be on their trial now ; to have the knowledge and opportunity offered them to amend what is amiss in their inherited relations to the Church ; to atone for the faults of their predecessors ; and so by doing their duty towards God and His Church to merit the establishment of their throne ? while, on the other hand, if unhappily they should neglect the grace and opportunity given them, identifying themselves in

spirit with the unacknowledged and unrepented sins of the State, and either personally repeating and increasing them, or, seeing their true nature, from worldly motives refusing to correct them, then, before any one can argue from their prosperity or from the prospects of their dynasty against the views advanced above, he must wait to the end, and see what shall have been the history of the present Family. God forbid that it should resemble that of the family of Alexis, which yet was numerous and flourishing in its day, educated with a refinement above the age of that Sovereign, and in its individual members not destitute either of personal beauty, fine talents, or amiable and religious dispositions !

DISSERTATION VI.

OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT, OBEDIENCE, AND LIBERTY, IN RELATION TO ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY.

IRRESPECTIVELY of the origin Divine or human, peaceful or violent, legitimate or illegitimate, of any Government, Christians are taught by their religion to obey the existing ruler, whoever he may be; to obey him, that is, so far as he demands either passive submission or active service not inconsistent with any higher duty of obedience towards God.

“Let every soul” it is written “be subject unto the higher powers: for there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God: whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience’ sake. For this cause pay ye tribute also: for they are God’s ministers, attending continually upon this very thing. Render therefore to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour.” *Rom. xiii. 1, &c.*

And again: “Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the LORD’s sake; whether it be to the King as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to

silence the ignorance of foolish men : as free, and not using your liberty for a cloke of maliciousness, but as the servants of God. Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the King." 1 *S. Peter ii.* 13, &c.

If in these passages monarchy alone is distinctly mentioned this is partly no doubt because the Apostles alluded to the then existing Monarchy of the Roman Empire ; but also and chiefly because in strict truth monarchy alone is *government*. It alone is agreeable to nature and reason and the Divine intention : it alone is consistent with itself in asserting authority and exacting obedience : it alone can exist pure and absolute, and is most perfect when most absolute, and stable and beneficial in proportion as subjects are penetrated by the spirit of obedience which it inculcates. It alone reproduces on earth a type and image of the government of heaven. Whereas what is called popular government is in essence no government at all, but only a negation of monarchy, and a spirit of self-assertion. Popular government cannot ever exist pure ; but it exists less or more according as the spirit of self-assertion which generates it has been arrested and fixed at an earlier or later stage of development by some neutralizing and counteracting elements. It is by virtue of such arrestation, and by union with such contrary elements alone, that what are called Constitutions and popular or mixed governments are formed, and subsist, asserting inconsistently a sort of spurious authority, and exacting a sort of unreal obedience, not in virtue of but in spite of their distinctive principle. They then approach nearest to true government, are most stable, and most beneficial, when they are most mixed, and when their distinctive spirit is most checked and neutralized. But they have then least the nature of government, are least stable, and least capable of benefiting society, when they are least mixed, and when society is most deeply and generally penetrated by their distinctive spirit of self-assertion ; a spirit which if unchecked, or strong enough to overcome counteracting forces, tends to hurry society from less popular to more popular forms, and ultimately to produce on earth a likeness of the anarchy of hell.

However, even those spurious forms of popular and mixed government which are governments only in name are recognized,

so soon as they exist *de facto*, by Christianity. The evil spirit and principle in virtue of which they profess to exist is condemned; but the spurious authority is honoured upon grounds not its own, and receives an obedience which it could not claim for itself. The expressions used by the Apostles when they teach us to submit "to *every ordinance of man*," and "to the higher powers," on the ground that "the powers *that be* are ordained of God," are sufficiently general to include by implication every variety of settled government or polity. And this is the sense in which the Divine law has been understood and delivered to us by the Church.

It may indeed sometimes be a question at what precise point of time any government can rightly be said to exist *de facto*, so as to have a true claim on our submission. The Jews thought (and not erroneously,) that the empire of the Romans over them had been gained by unjust aggression, and they collected from hence that they had a right to rebel against the Romans whenever they could do so with a prospect of success. They thought too that if any one pretended to be the legitimate heir of the throne of David, the descendant of their former kings who had reigned by Divine appointment, and predestined himself by a Divine promise to perpetual and universal empire, such an one could not do otherwise than forbid them to pay tribute to Cæsar. But CHRIST answered them, contrary to their expectations, that having submitted to the Roman power, and now using in the contracts of daily life money stamped with the effigy and superscription of Cæsar, they had no right to revolt, but were bound to "render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's." Hence we learn that much less has any other nation (for none can have a fairer pretext than had the Jews,) a right to rebel against the power to which it has once fairly submitted. So long as their native force is unsubdued they are bound to fight for their country against a foreign invader: so long as the success of a domestic usurper is doubtful, and their legitimate Sovereign has his standard in the field, they are bound to abhor treason, and to fight for their master's house. But when once the invader or the usurper has conquered, so that resistance has ceased, and life and property are now protected by his laws, and his money passes current as the medium of peaceful contracts, then, and

from that time forth, however natural it may be for national pride or passion to revolt, the Divine law gives no sanction to rebellion. Such is the Christian law of obedience to governments which exist *de facto*.

But though Christians, so far as they are truly such, will be peaceable and obedient subjects or citizens under all governments alike, it is manifest from what has been said above that not every form of government is equally congenial to Christianity. However ready Christians may be to render obedience and loyalty, obedience and loyalty cannot, from the nature of the things themselves, be rendered to a power, so-called, which professes more or less not to be a power but to depend on us, in the same sense, or in the same degree, as to a real power which teaches us that we depend on it. Christians rendering obedience to an absolute Sovereign support not only the existing power but the principle of authority on which that power is based. But in obeying, on grounds of their own, the requirements of a popular government, they support it only *so far as it is a government*, not *so far as it is popular*. On the contrary the nature of their obedience is such that it neutralizes, so far as it goes, that principle of self-assertion on which popular governments are based, and which they profess to inculcate or recommend. In proportion as the spirit of Christianity prevails under an absolute Monarchy it will render the principle of monarchy powerful and stable: but in proportion as the same spirit of Christianity prevails among the citizens of any popular government it will either retard and modify, or altogether prevent, their progress to a more popular form: or, if it become absolutely predominant, it will tend to change the nature of the Constitution so as to retrograde, gradually perhaps and unconsciously but certainly, towards monarchy. It would cause spontaneous and peaceful revolutions upwards, such as the world has little prospect of seeing. Lastly, so far as a government is absolute or authoritative, it is an instrument for training all its subjects to *humility* and *obedience*, which Christianity regards as most important natural virtues, easily passing into Christian virtues of the same names. But so far as a government is popular, it is an instrument for training all its citizens to discontent, pride, vanity, self-assertion, irreverence, and sceptical indiffe-

rence or infidelity; all which are vices most contrary to Christianity, and the increase of which the Christian must regard as an enormous evil.

When then so many in the West revile and despise the Russian people on account of their devoted loyalty and obedience to an absolute Sovereign, they revile and despise that which is in truth the praise and glory and happiness of the Russians: and when they praise as virtue the spirit of pride and self-assertion which prevails among themselves, and vaunt the "free institutions" which have arisen from this spirit, they are in fact glorying in their own unhappiness and shame.

It may be worth while to consider what are the sources of so great an error; an error which in the West is by no means confined to men evidently turbulent and wicked, and which too often has the sympathy of individuals of the higher classes even among the Russians themselves.

Now that the defects and excesses incidental to absolute monarchy are as nothing compared with the evils inseparable from the direct rule of the multitude is generally allowed. But it is not so clear, even to sensible men, that the evils inherent in a *mixed* government in virtue of its theory, are greater than the evils incidental to an absolute monarchy in spite of its theory; or that the benefits secured to a people by a mixed constitution are not practically, and upon the whole, greater than those which are secured by an absolute monarchy. The chief causes which operate to deceive men's minds are the following:

First, well-meaning people living under a more or less popular form of government, and enjoying those benefits which it is the nature of all settled government, as such, to afford, are apt to ascribe to the *mixed* character, or even specially to the *popular* character, of their own Constitution good effects which in truth are neither produced nor favoured by its popular element, but are lessened and thwarted by it, and would be produced in a higher degree by a pure and consistent monarchy. Secondly, having their ideas formed by their own circumstances, and being naturally partial to themselves, they either do not perceive at all, or undervalue, the pernicious effect of popular principles in training a whole people to lower and lower views of faith and obedience, and in encouraging pride and self-assertion. They

even look with complacency on these destructive and odious vices, as producing or favouring certain pagan virtues, such as manliness, truthfulness, honour, patriotism, enterprise, industry, self-respect, progress, civilization, enlightenment, and the like. They do not perceive that representative, and especially mixed representative, government is of necessity nothing else than a perpetual round of lying, trickery, and overreaching. On the other hand they either do not see at all, or undervalue, the benefits commonly conferred by absolute monarchy in favouring faith and humility. They even look with aversion and contempt on these virtues, as tending to foster certain real or supposed vices, such as slavishness, untruthfulness, dishonesty, stationariness, barbarism, ignorance, superstition, and the like. Thirdly, setting an exaggerated value on worldly goods, and noticing that popular institutions (at least when favoured by national character,) seem to promote energy, enterprise, and competition, and generally that sort of social progress and prosperity which the many can best appreciate, more than absolute monarchy, they take this to be a proof of the superiority of popular institutions. Lastly, they omit to allow for the influence of extraneous and incidental advantages, which in particular cases may give permanence and prosperity to mixed or popular governments, just as the vices and cruelties or incapacity of individual rulers may in particular cases make monarchy unstable and calamitous. And thus they will ascribe to liberal institutions effects which really belong to some happiness of national character, or of local circumstances, to the remains perhaps of older monarchical ideas and customs, and above all to the influence of Apostolical Christianity arresting, or retarding and mitigating, the downward developments of liberalism.

However, as there is generally some foundation in truth even for erroneous judgments, when widely spread and not confined to the ignorant and vicious, we may admit that the causes enumerated above do not of themselves afford a sufficient explanation; but that there have been in modern times, or are still, in the Russian Government and people some considerable faults which account for their not obtaining on the whole, even from the admirers of monarchy, such respect or favour as monarchy and loyalty deserve; while the comparative absence in

Russia of certain virtues which flourish, whether in reality or semblance, in the West in connection with liberal institutions, may seem to be owing to the pressure of despotic power.

Certainly the Russian Government at the present time is not notorious in the West for acts of flagrant injustice or cruelty: nor do sober-minded people believe that the Emperor or his governors really flog Polish nuns to death. On the contrary, in all things that relate to material well-being and progress, the Government is evidently enlightened, paternal, and philanthropic. It shows anxiety to mitigate the evils of the existing system of serfage, and to prepare the way for its final abolition. It corrects administrative abuses, and introduces improvements. It encourages education, both spiritual and secular. It patronizes art, science, and commerce. It protects without invading the doctrine and worship of the dominant Church, which it favours with moderation; while it tolerates the existence of certain other sects, without however allowing them to spread by proselytism. It is active in developing the internal resources of the Empire. It protects life and property by an efficient police, and by the regular administration of justice. And lastly, with an immense force at its command, it shows moderation in its dealings with foreign States, and lends a powerful support to the maintenance of existing treaties, and to the general cause of law, order, and religion throughout Christendom.

Yet with all this it does not command confidence and esteem. Apart from the hatred of democrats and constitution-mongers (which is simply honourable to it,) it is suspected and feared even by men of monarchical principles. It is suspected even for its very merits. Men can understand that people governing themselves may have a selfish interest in their own material welfare and progress: but if an absolute monarch shows himself a prudent administrator of his empire, this, they think, must be owing either to a sense of duty towards God, or to some ulterior motive. Now they do not give the Russian Government at present credit for any sincere faith or zeal towards God. They see that instead of honouring the Successors of the Apostles, giving them free scope to act within their proper sphere, and listening reverently to their counsels or reproofs, it has broken the power of the Hierarchy, robbed it of its possessions, and

subjected its action even in purely spiritual matters to a most jealous and stifling control. And this being so, they consider the maintenance of doctrinal and ritual religion in the *statu quo* to be hypocritical, partly from fear of the people, and partly from policy ; and suspect that system of good government which prevails in lower matters, and which manifestly tends to develop the strength and resources of the Empire, to be pursued of set purpose, to subserve future schemes of violence and ambition. But absolute power aiming after selfish and unjust ends, with great means at its disposal, and with profound hypocrisy and far-seeing cunning making religion itself and good government its instruments for compassing them, would no doubt be sufficiently odious and formidable to its neighbours. Add to this the sight of a great and increasing immorality among the higher classes ; a hypocritical conformity to the dominant religion joined with the most reckless scepticism or impiety, the basest adulation of the Government in public joined, too often, with the most traitorous and absurd liberalism in private ; a too general corruption in all departments of administration ; a too general abuse of power and influence, and oppression of the weaker by the stronger ; a general suppleness and duplicity of character, and an absence of frankness and self-respect. Add, lastly, the sight of a Hierarchy and Clergy which instead of correcting by good counsels, if listened to, the mistakes and excesses of the government, the police, and the censorship, or illustrating the Church and raising the national character, if not listened to, by suffering patiently for truth and righteousness, lying prostrate and dumb, despised by the higher classes of society, worshipping with slavish adulation the hand that chains and feeds them, and acquiescing without sense or consciousness in the degradation of religion and of the Church to be mere instruments of secular government.

In fact, though Monarchy is in itself excellent and divine, and far superior to all spurious or less perfect forms of government, still human weakness and corruption is such, that even Christian monarchies for the most part minister to the purpose of God for the well-being of society only by the necessity of their nature, but with a will and spirit and purpose of their own which is not in conformity to the Divine will, nor to the interest

of the Church of CHRIST. It is only on rare occasions that history gives us a bright but transient glimpse of what Christian government ought to be, and shows us an earthly Sovereign ministering in obedient faith and love to that heavenly Sovereign of whom he is the image and representative. In general the Empires of this world are by Divine sufferance under the influence of him who is called "the Prince of this world," following after glory, conquest, power, interest, national progress, enlightenment, and other idols. Not only the old idolatrous heathen Empires of Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, which successively trampled under foot the sanctuaries of Jerusalem, and under which the holy seed was scattered among the nations of the earth, but also the continuations of those Empires or of the last of them, the Roman, even under the Christian dispensation, are pourtrayed to us in Holy Scripture as holding the seat and authority of the dragon, that is of Satan, and as being at variance with the Church of God and with His Saints. And they are symbolized by fierce and evil beasts rising out of the sea, that is, out of the commotions and changes of the races and nations of mankind. But it belongs to goodness only and to holiness to be at unity with itself, so that the greater can glorify God for the less, and the less for the greater, and those virtues and graces which seem most contrasted (as rule, courage, energy, are contrasted with obedience, humility, patience,) can appreciate and love each other. Thus it is with the Saints of the LAMB, and in the order of the Heavenly Kingdom; as it is also with the harmonious varieties and contrasts of the material Creation. But thus in the empire of the dragon it is not. His subordinate powers are at war not only with God but among themselves, "hateful themselves, and hating others." And so, if governments, and national characters, differ one from another, then, *so far as they are evil*, nations will naturally misappreciate and hate or despise whatever is uncongenial to their own several states. Of whatever kind the evil beasts may be which will symbolize the different powers of modern Europe, the "military vanity" of France, the "cold interestedness" of England, the "stifling despotism" of Russia, the "restless materialism" of the United States of America, it is natural that such evil beasts should look askance, growling and snarling, at one another, and

from time to time claw, and bite, and roar in open conflict. In one thing only they will be agreed, that is, in dislike of the doctrine and discipline of the Gospel, and in a disposition one way or another to thwart and enfeeble the *inward* Church.

But we need not dwell on this dark side of things. We may remember that there is another and a better point of view from which we may regard governments *so far as they are governments*, and the rulers and subjects or citizens of each *so far as they are men, who may be well-disposed* in themselves, and may be living under such circumstances as excuse or extenuate their faults and enhance their virtues. Thus the appearance in Englishmen of a spirit of orthodoxy, of loyalty and obedience to authority, and, more generally, of religious reverence, sober-mindedness and humility, ought to be particularly admirable and attractive to the eyes of a Russian, inasmuch as he must know how very unfavourable to the production of such virtues are the circumstances of England: much more, if the same virtues should be discernible in American republicans. And in like manner many habits of thought and speech and conduct which would be most culpable in a Russian Christian, or in a Russian subject, would be viewed in Englishmen or Americans by candid and charitable Russians only as slight and venial defects: for instance, the habit of publishing idly and mischievously real faults or vices of their temporal and spiritual Heads. On the other hand the appearance in Russians of sincerity and fearlessness in the cause of truth and righteousness, with a noble disregard of worldly consequences, ought to seem particularly admirable and attractive to Englishmen or Americans, inasmuch as they will consider the atmosphere of Russia to be peculiarly unfavourable for such virtues.

In a certain sense, no doubt, all governments depend on public opinion, feeling, and custom, and must take their direction from it. And so, it is quite possible under a monarchy, no less than under a republic, for any evil to have gone so far that it is beyond the power of the government to correct it. Henry VIII. or Queen Elizabeth, for instance, if they could return to life in England at the present day to reign again as despots, and as Heads or Supreme Governors of the Church, would be utterly unable to dispossess those heresies which they in the sixteenth century forced upon a passive or reluctant nation.

Still, speaking generally and upon the whole, absolute monarchy has this among its other advantages that, if anything has gone wrong, the evil is much more capable of correction than under a popular form of government. Under the latter there can be no correction (though of course good men should labour for it,) unless the mind and will of the people, of the electoral and representative classes, or the majority of them, be informed and persuaded, and the course of the whole body forced backwards, which is all but impossible: for the many are always incompetent or evil; and a whole people can scarcely repent. But under a monarchy the error or fault is in general only that of one man, or of a few; or at the worst it is only a system and tradition of policy the maintenance of which (like its first introduction,) rests with one man or with a few. And for the correction of such faults it needs only that the mind of the Sovereign himself or of a few of his chief servants should be influenced.

It cannot be too constantly borne in mind by subjects, that the character of their rulers, and that of the government under which they are to live, will depend mainly upon their own. Nothing can be more false than to imagine that subjects under an absolute Monarchy have nothing to do but to obey simply and mechanically, like slaves or cattle. This is indeed the obedience which is exacted by despotism and tyranny, when the particular appetite or caprice of the master is his only law. But the theory of absolute monarchy, of true government, as such, is very different. It requires of the ruler that he govern not arbitrarily and irresponsibly, but as the servant of God, with wisdom, virtue, and religion: and of the subjects it requires that they render not a blind and indiscriminating, but an intelligent, virtuous, and religious obedience. If the Sovereign be ever so perfect, but the people are rebellious, or vicious, or brutishly stupid and apathetic, he cannot, in the nature of things, reign over them as a Christian King, but must deal with them, if he has the power, in some other way. On the other hand, if the Sovereign, as a man, chanced to be ever so vicious, seeking to rule like a despot or a tyrant, or ever so incompetent, but his subjects, all of them or the majority, were virtuous, religious, and intelligent, it is evident that even the vicious Sovereign would

be constrained to govern well, and the incompetent enabled to govern wisely. But these extreme cases of total inaptitude, either in subjects or rulers, are scarcely likely to occur: it is in the more mixed and ordinary cases, where the Sovereign, if good, is yet not without his faults and defects, or, if bad, is not incapable of being made worse or better, that the vast responsibility incumbent on subjects, especially on such as are in the higher stations, and the vast importance of true loyalty is most seen. If, on the one hand, for any faults or excesses of their ruler they refuse due obedience, foment a spirit of resistance and disorder, or even actually rebel, and risk civil war, the mischief and the wickedness are plain, and need not that we should dwell upon them. But if, on the other hand, they render an *undue obedience*, the obedience of evil or cowardly men, or of stupid and passive slaves, the mischief to society will be hardly less. Misgovernment under bad rulers will be facilitated and exaggerated; and the faults and defects of well-intentioned rulers will be magnified and perpetuated, instead of admitting correction. Not only is it the moral and religious duty of all men to prefer the higher to the lower authority if anything wrong is commanded by this latter, and to obey God rather than man, but, even as regards the earthly Sovereign, true affection, true loyalty, true *obedience* requires of subjects quite as much that they should remonstrate against and, it may be, disobey what is mistakenly, viciously, or irreligiously commanded, as that they should obey in executing what is wisely, virtuously, and religiously commanded. The subject or servant who from being evil himself, or from fear or interest, ministers to a bad Monarch, or to an erring Monarch, for evil, who praises to him evil men or evil measures, or is silent while others praise them, who neglects to declare on proper occasions what is truth, and justice, and duty, or to remonstrate against evil, who will not risk by refusing to be an instrument of evil loss of favour, honour, rank, wealth, power, or life itself, is a *traitor* no less than if he joined or formed a conspiracy, or publicly slandered his Sovereign, or purposely gave him bad counsel to his hurt, or revealed his secrets, or betrayed his troops or fortresses to the enemy, or fled through cowardice from the field of battle. And, as regards society at large, he who from fear of worldly

consequences, or from motives of interest, praises or defends any excesses or evil acts of tyrants or their ministers, or (still more,) any occasional faults or errors of such monarchs as are on the whole well-intentioned, or who refrains from blaming them on proper occasions, is by his vicious and mischievous adulation a corrupter of his fellow-subjects, and a subverter of his country, *and of the Throne*, no less than if he refrained from praising on fit occasion, or even maliciously calumniated and misrepresented, the virtuous and beneficent and religious acts of a good government.

True loyalty and obedience in subjects is so far from being inconsistent with *liberty*, that without liberty it cannot exist. For there is such a thing also as true *liberty*, which is a *privilege*, a *happiness*, and a *reward*, no less than true *obedience* and true *authority*, the rendering and exercising of which are *duties*. The world is not wholly wrong when it abhors something which it calls "slavery," and aspires after something which it calls "liberty;" though, being evil, it can never escape the one or attain the other, nor comprehend what either of them really are. The true *slavery* is for a will naturally free to be subjected by force to some other will external and contrary to itself; as when the inner man, that is, the reason or conscience, is overcome by particular passions or habits, or when bad men, or imperfect, are constrained by fear or interest to obey any law or will contrary to their own. True *liberty* in the creature is, *primarily*, to be in union with his supreme Creator and Ruler, so as to love and do His will spontaneously: *secondarily*, to be at peace with himself, so that all particular appetites and passions either actually concur with the inner will, that is, with reason and conscience and good habit, or obey it without reluctance. And as for political liberty, that subject or citizen is truly *free* whose will coincides with the will of the existing government, *so far as it is truly government*. Not he who has power to rebel or disobey with impunity; nor he whose will happens to coincide with any tyrannical caprice or erring will of a particular monarch or republic; but he whose will concurs with the existing earthly government, so far as the will of that government itself concurs with the supreme government of God. The earthly ruler, so far as he has any true authority, can have it only as the *slave*

and servant or minister of the LORD: and the earthly subject, so far as he has any true liberty, can have it only as the freeman of the LORD. The subject for the LORD's sake obeys and venerates his earthly Sovereign (so far as he is really a Sovereign,) willingly, not of constraint; as a free man, not as a slave or machine; of love, not of fear; or if of fear also, still this is not an abject but a religious fear, on account of the image of the Divine authority which he bears. But in proportion as any ruler or government demands of the subject any irreligious, or unjust or unfitting obedience, or compliance, or accord, he whose habit and will is in unison with the will of God and with true government, and at variance with the erring will of the individual earthly tyrant, or of the imperfect government, is *free*. He will do the will of God, which is also his own will, without looking to the right hand or to the left: he will constantly speak the truth, and boldly rebuke vice and injustice: he will do that which all government must be supposed, from its very nature, to will and command, even though the individual ruler may say that he wills something else: and if he cannot persuade the ruler, nor prevent or correct evil, he will for God's sake even more willingly and cheerfully suffer unjust anger, punishment, or death, than he would for his own gratification have accepted honour or rewards. He will be really free then both when he obeys just commands, and (more manifestly) when he disobeys what are unjust; and lastly he will be free, and most free, when he *suffers*; because, first, he will suffer nothing contrary to his own will, (for his will is to suffer in obedience to the will of God;) and then, further, because by suffering he shows his own will to be more free and stronger than the greatest powers of this world, and triumphs over them openly in the eyes of all those who are capable of understanding and admiring virtue, and of being taught to imitate it.

Authority then, *Obedience*, and *Liberty*, having all three their sources in *Religion*, and so far as they come to be disjoined from religion being necessarily perverted and corrupted, it is manifest how much must depend in every Christian nation upon the life and purity of religion, and upon the spirit and zeal of its Hierarchy and Clergy. Sent at the beginning to teach and Baptize all nations, and to bear the name of CHRIST before

Kings and Governors, to whom they rendered a perfect obedience in temporal things, but whose will they utterly disregarded in matters of religion, the Apostles by their teaching and sufferings laid the foundation of that society which was afterwards to be called Christendom, and made Christian authority, Christian obedience, and Christian liberty, possible for future generations. He that had been merely a heathen chieftain or tyrant before, with such authority as it might happen, when he received the Faith and was Baptized, became for the future a Christian Sovereign over brethren, holding his authority intelligently of God, and having a Divine law by which to exercise it. And the people, who in their state of nature before had rendered such obedience and arrogated to themselves such liberty as it happened, upon listening to the Gospel and being Baptized received, together with the grace of God, a new view of the authority of their Princes over them, and of their own duty of obedience, and of the nature of true liberty. After their Baptism Christian Princes had still with them the same Teachers who first raised their power from being merely natural to be reasonable and religious to assist, instruct, and correct them in all that related to its exercise. And Christian peoples after their Baptism had still with them the same Teachers who first ennobled their political obedience and liberty, made them compatible the one with the other, and raised them above the state of nature, to teach, rebuke, and correct them in their relations to their Christian Governors. So then the Hierarchy are naturally and originally in the place of teachers both to the Sovereign and to the people in all Christian nations : and any disposition to disown this relation, or to displace the Hierarchy from it, signifies neither more nor less than apostacy from Christianity.

Besides that it is their mission and duty, the Clergy are manifestly fitted by their office, their mode of life, their exclusion from secular affairs, and other advantages, for being the suggesters of motives both to rulers and subjects, the correctors of any thing that may be amiss, and the maintainers of harmony between the different functions of society, and of a just balance between authority and liberty. An earthly authority inculcating on the people obedience to itself through its satellites and schoolmasters would gain little by the attempt,

but would be more likely in the long run to produce a spirit of disloyalty; both because the teaching would be destitute of persuasive authority, and because he is naturally suspected who speaks much in his own behalf. The very attempt to persuade in him whose place it is to command, is significant of weakness and apprehension. But the instruction and exhortation of the ministers of God, speaking in His name, appointed equally to teach the prince and the peasant, and independent of both, while by their character and office, by their exclusion from worldly callings, and their devotion to works of charity and mercy and of spiritual consolation, they engage especially the sympathies of the poor, are likely to have a very different effect. So too, if any thing is amiss in a ruler, it would not be convenient for the people to see laymen rebuking, correcting, or guiding their Sovereign. It would tend to his dishonour and reproach, to the obscuration of his pre-eminence, and perhaps even to absolute danger. But in listening to his Spiritual Father, who is revered by all as a minister of religion, but is incapacitated by his office from aspiring to secular command, and disgraces himself if he is forward to meddle with secular affairs, who is bound to teach to all humility, loyalty, and obedience, and to set an example of these virtues himself, a Sovereign has no cause for jealousy or fear, lest his authority be weakened or dishonoured. On the contrary the giving and receiving of counsel, admonition, or reproof, in such a way is graceful, honourable, and beneficial both to religion and to the State.

Human nature being everywhere prone to evil, and to no evil more than to insubordination and lawlessness, it will be everywhere the duty of the Clergy by their teaching and example to inculcate obedience and loyalty. And more especially in popularly-governed countries, where they may even themselves be in danger from the infection of the democratical spirit, they should do their utmost to remedy in some degree the plague of society by inculcating a spirit of sobermindedness, humility, and obedience, so far as obedience may yet be right or possible. But under absolute governments, where they may rather be in danger of being carried away with the multitude by fear or interest to an excessive and slavish adulation, they are bound more especially to teach by their words and their examples the

difference between spurious and true, hypocritical and sincere loyalty, between the intelligent, reasonable, and religious obedience of the Christian subject, and the vicious or brutish subserviency of the concealed traitor or the slave. For it cannot be expected that lay servants and subjects should have the spirit on proper occasions to decline compliance, to remonstrate, or to teach and correct erring Sovereigns, if the Hierarchy fail to set them the example : any more than that Bishops and Priests should navigate fleets or command armies, if they who are sailors and soldiers by profession fail to do it. And if unhappily the Prince, and the great men, and the people in any State all fail of their duty, or if the Prince and the great men wrong the poor, or religion, the Clergy are the only representatives of truth, justice, and mercy, left upon earth : and if they fail too, the evil is indeed irremediable.

If in any countries the Clergy have sought to carry religion beyond its just limits, seeking to subject Kings and Emperors to a direct or indirect temporal Supremacy, or in a lower sphere have assisted domestic factions and rebellions of traitors or democrats, or the arms of foreign enemies, such ministers of religion have plainly departed from the precepts and example of the Apostles Paul and Peter, and of the Martyrs, who honoured and obeyed the heathen Cæsars from Nero to Diocletian, have incapacitated themselves from teaching consistently or efficiently obedience and loyalty, and have prepared the way for future inroads of the temporal power upon the spiritual, and for the lawless insurrection of democracy against both. But of such an excess we need say little, as there is nothing in the present circumstances of the world to suggest the probability of its occurrence. And for the past, whatever may have been the case in the West, the Clergy of the Eastern Church have never given Princes any *just* ground for jealousy or suspicion. On the other hand if the secular power, as has been too common, should anywhere have invaded the spiritual, carrying political government beyond its just limits, and seeking to subject the Successors of the Apostles and their Churches to a direct or indirect State Supremacy, and the Clergy have not had the spirit and wisdom to resist such invasion, and to maintain their proper relation towards the Kings and nations which they originally converted

and Baptized, the secular ruler in this case has simply impaired or destroyed religion by attempting to reduce that which is spiritual under his own control : he has degraded the Hierarchy without gaining any real advantage to himself : on the contrary, he has sapped the basis of his own authority, and prepared the way for the Nobility and for the people first to follow him (as they followed in England Queen Elizabeth,) into vice and irreligion, and then, by a just retribution, perhaps to murder him, (as the English murdered Charles the First,) or to drive him and his family from the throne, (as the English drove out James II. and his posterity,) and establish a democratical anarchy both political and religious. And in the same case the Hierarchy which submits to such encroachments are plainly no successors in spirit of those Apostles and Martyrs who so undauntedly asserted their own mission to teach the world against all the authority of the Roman Emperors, from Nero to Diocletian, who by their patience in suffering in three hundred years overthrew the established worship of idols, and founded and cemented with their blood the new order of Christian society, ecclesiastical and political. By their subserviency and timidity they gain no real advantage either for themselves or for the people ; nor do any real service, or show any real fidelity or loyalty, to the secular Government. Rather they degrade themselves, their office, and religion ; they sell the souls of the poor ; they abandon the flock of CHRIST unfed and unfolded to the wolves of this world ; they prepare destruction instead of security for that King of Moab whom, like Balaam, they serve for gain ; and they are in danger of being brought with Balaam and Judas to a fearful account at the end. As for such a Hierarchy to advise and correct their Sovereign in his political government, to support the throne in times of weakness or trouble, to defend the cause of the poor, to maintain the balance between the conflicting tendencies of outward authority and outward licence, to prevent, by the admixture of a spiritual element and the presence of a spiritual check, absolute monarchy from becoming despotism or tyranny, obedience and loyalty from becoming vicious and slavish subservience, reasonable and religious liberty from passing into a cloke of licentiousness,—these offices would manifestly be impossible.

If then any Christian Clergy would preserve in due propor-

tion the mutual relations of Church and State, and so be capable of teaching Christian Princes and peoples in lesser matters, they have only one thing to do; (the lesson is brief and simple, but the practice is no light matter;) to study to have the same spirit and to act in the same way towards temporal Sovereigns now as the Apostles and their successors acted during the first four ages of Christianity; with the same unsullied and immoveable loyalty in worldly things, and with the same unmistakeable attitude of teachers and independent governors in spiritual things; rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, but exacting also from Cæsar for God the things that are God's.

Lastly, if any one desire to see more in detail some rule or pattern for temporal Sovereignty itself, which in its proper sphere is supreme, over Clergy no less than over laity, and is responsible to God alone, he may find it in the Hundred-and-first Psalm, (LXX. ρ'.) of which the following is an amplification:—

The Meditation of a Christian Sovereign :

“My song, my meditation, shall be of the duties of my station; of mercy and judgment: first, of mercy, that is, of tender paternal care for the welfare, spiritual, moral, and temporal, of all my subjects; and then also of judgment, that is, of the administration of true justice between man and man, of the restraint of wickedness and vice, and the punishment of evil-doers, both for their own correction, and for the advantage of society. Unto Thee, O LORD, will I sing. Unto Thee will I lift up my heart in my meditation. I will not direct my intention in ruling to any secondary end. I will not look to the tempter, though he may offer me all the kingdoms of the world: nor to the idols of ambition, glory, public opinion, patriotism, civilization, enlightenment, progress: nor to any selfish motives of pleasure, passion, or ease. But I will offer my thoughts, my motives, my designs, my actions, my meditations, my prayers, with fear and love unto Thee, O LORD: for Thou art my King, and my God; and I am Thy servant. For Thy sake alone, and because it is Thy will, I will endeavour, with Thy help, to rule my fellow-men, my brethren, whom otherwise I would prefer to serve. So shall I have understanding in the way of godliness. O let me have understanding in the way of godliness! O give

me of Thy heavenly wisdom, that I may understand how to govern well ! wisdom, not so much for the lower ends and details of government, as for the higher : understanding in the way of godliness ; that is, that I may think and feel and believe rightly concerning the Orthodox and Catholic Faith, concerning the unity and authority of Thy holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, concerning the due relation of Kings to the Christian Hierarchy, and of the Hierarchy to Kings : and that I may govern well, so as to defend and assist the holy Church, and promote her union within herself, her spiritual efficiency in teaching, disciplining, or reclaiming the Christian people, and her extension among the nations which have not yet learned CHRIST. For Thou hast bidden rulers also as well as others to seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and hast promised to as many as do thus that all other things which are necessary either for themselves or for their subjects shall be added unto them. When wilt Thou come unto me ? This is my motive, this is my desire, this is my end and hope in all that I do, that by governing Thy people in obedience to Thy will, for their good, and to Thy glory, I may obtain, in common with the meanest of them, the salvation of my own soul : that I may be accepted by Thee the King of kings, by Thee Who being Maker and LORD of all didst empty Thyself of Thy glory, and condescend to become an outcast upon earth, and a servant of servants for my sake, making for ever afterwards humility and poverty and suffering precious, but pride and vain-glory contemptible and miserable. For Thou hast said, ' If a man love me, he will keep my words ; and my FATHER will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.' Make me, O LORD, to love Thee ! Help me, that I may keep Thy words ! Yea, I will keep them with my whole heart. I see the vanity of worldly things : I see the difficulties and dangers of my exaltation : I am weary of a life so unsuitable in its outward circumstances for my weakness and sinfulness, so like to the life of Herod, of Pilate, of Cæsar, so unlike the life on earth of the true King of Israel. When shall it be over ? that is, so that it be over well and happily ? When wilt Thou come unto me ? O come unto me day by day by Thy grace, to assist and support and enable me ! and give me at the end some part,

however small, with the poor who in this life have received with Lazarus and with Thee evil things. Shut not up my soul with the sinners : nor with those rich men who have their portion in this life : nor with those great men of the earth who on account of their greatness shall be mightily tormented ! And what way shall I take to obtain my desire ? Even this : I will walk in my house with a perfect heart, or in innocency of my heart. My walk, that is, my steps, the course and conduct of my life, in my family, in my court, and in my kingdom, shall be ordered by the pure and single motive of the fear and love of God. My heart shall be whole with Him, not divided : my conscience clear and open towards Him. I will not set before my eyes, that is, by desire or purpose, any unrighteous thing, as any unjust war, any wrong to the Church, oppression of subjects, gratification of any sinful lust, or of anger, or revenge, or pride. On the contrary I will strive more and more to hate such sins of unfaithfulness, with all tendencies to them, and all remains of them, both in myself and in others. Yea, O LORD, I do hate them : I hate the sins of impiety, heresy, schism, sacrilege, profaneness, violence, murder, adultery, uncleanness, robbery, fraud, slander, covetousness, and such like. A crooked and perverse heart, a heart that lifts not up itself straight to Thee, but turns aside after lusts and passions, and vanities, and is hypocritical or inconsistent in Thy service, shall not cleave to me : neither within my own breast : nor shall such a heart of any other man adhere to mine by friendship or favour. Bad men shall go out quickly from my presence, and shall not return to it. They shall be forgotten by me. They shall shrink away from me of themselves, and shun me : or, if they presume, I will not favour nor promote nor employ them, nor so much as look upon them, or know them. They shall be for me as if they were not. If any one comes to me with secret accusations against his neighbour, with suspicions, and insinuations, instead of rewarding him, or listening to him, I will drive him from my presence, from the palace, from the court, and from all honours and trusts. Neither they that have a proud and haughty eye, be they ever so great or noble, nor they that have a covetous soul, be they ever so rich or serviceable, shall sit before me or eat at my table. But my eyes shall seek out and note such as are

faithful and devout Christians within my dominions, that I may have them about my person, to be with me. The most eminent for faith and holiness shall be my Spiritual Fathers, my advisers, and my friends. They that lead blameless lives shall be my servants, my Officers, my Judges, my Captains, my Governors, my Councillors. None shall dwell in my house who show haughtiness or rudeness to inferiors, or to the poor. None shall prosper before me who tell lies, or who do not strictly and openly speak the truth. Him who tells me what he sees amiss in me I will trust and honour; but him that flatters me, or that palliates wickedness, or commends to me evil men, I will punish as though he insulted me to my face. My first thought shall ever be how to restrain all impiety, heresy, injustice, violence, and immorality: I will cut off at once, without delay, all authors and ringleaders of open wickedness: and labour, as far as possible, to extirpate all incorrigible evil doers from the Christian Empire and Church, which is the City of the LORD."

Such is the sense of the Psalm which was copied out and sent by one of the early Russian Metropolitans, Nicephorus, at the beginning of the twelfth century, to the Grand Prince Vladimir Monomachus, as a compendious instruction in his duties, with an exhortation to him to get it by heart, to recite it frequently, to meditate on it, and to fashion his government accordingly. If any one would be a worthy successor of Monomachus, he may do the same now.

DISSERTATION VII.

REFLECTIONS ON THE RIGHT METHOD OF CONDUCTING RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY.

CHRISTIANS being unhappily at variance, religious discussions and controversies abound, and are generally both idle and pernicious. The soul that loves and seeks truth shrinks from oral discussion, and scarcely less from the perusal of printed controversy: or if we are sometimes obliged to consult controversial Divinity, we labour through volumes with little other benefit than the indirect one of ascertaining what facts against himself are admitted, and what arguments against himself are dissembled, by the writer.

Still, supposing that people may sometimes be so minded that discussion may profitably be offered and accepted, it is worth while to consider by what rules one ought to guide one's self in undertaking and conducting it.

Towards such a consideration the following suggestions may be found useful: Intellectually,

I. We should be discreet enough neither to move nor continue with any man a disquisition for which he has not the requisite principles, capacity, knowledge, or dispositions.

II. We should not seek to *demonstrate* nor to *refute demonstratively* first principles, or what are assumed as such on either side: nor assume to reason as principals, when we are only individuals and inferiors; nor to reason as free beyond those limits within which our first principles, and the Doctrinal Authority by which we are bound, leave us really free.

III. We should never lose sight of the distinction existing between any system, or position, or organized community *in itself* and the individual who may be connected with it, and who

may identify himself with it. What is true against a system seen from a higher point of view may be most false and unjust against the individual, and against the system as he seems to himself to see it, being at a lower point of view: nay, the accusation may not be even intelligible to him. And that blame which is only too just against individual members, rulers, numerical majorities, and even whole generations and nations belonging to any religious system or Church, and which will so inevitably seem to attach to the system in itself, may, after all, be mere calumny when so applied, and may be seen to be mere calumny by those who are so placed as to regard the system from a higher point of view.

IV. We should take all possible pains to understand the feelings, habits, modes of thought, and definitions of words with which we have to deal before we judge, and still more before we openly disallow and attack them.

V. We must allow for the powerful influence of first principles, position, and habits, upon particular thoughts and reasonings; and remember that it is not enough in any controversy to have clear reasoning and good dispositions on the two sides, but that there must be also constant *attention* to the subject and to the reasoning *for a sufficient space of time*. Then, morally,

VI. We should always suppose our antagonist to be our equal, or rather our superior; and to be seeking only truth, for his own and for our good. And even if there should be any signs to the contrary, we should either shut our eyes to them, and give him the advantage of supposing him to be better than he is; or else, if this is impossible, we should desist from the controversy, and deal with him in another tone.

VII. Whatever blame our antagonist may seem to merit, we should never blame him: for this very fact, that he is blameable, is a damage to his argument, and an advantage (perhaps beyond what our cause merits,) to ours. It is enough therefore that he exhibits his weakness. For us to blame or pursue him for this not only is unchristian and ungenerous, but it deprives us of the superiority which we should otherwise obtain from his fault.

VIII. On the other hand, we should never try to refute nor absolutely deny the justice of any moral or intellectual blame cast upon ourselves, partly for reasons similar to those stated

above under the last head, and partly because we are mostly guilty more or less of that which is imputed to us, and can scarcely defend ourselves without condemning ourselves. Whereas, even if we were blameless, undeserved blame should be accepted as a spur to excellence, to make us only so much the more humble and diligent to avoid all approach to the defect imputed, and to increase in the contrary virtue.

The above suggestions intellectual and moral being premised, a method shall now be proposed for facilitating and simplifying the actual process of the controversy itself. It is this: Let the two parties by mutual agreement and hypothesis change sides, so far as the outward conference is concerned; and let each propose to the best of his ability and knowledge what seems to him to be his opponent's case. This being done on one side, the statement made of our case by our opponent will appear to us either to be fair and complete, and as strong as we could have made it ourselves, (it may be even stronger,) or the contrary. If we perceive that our opponent is in full possession of our case, then we may conclude that whatever considerations appear to him to tell in a contrary direction will be worthy of our attention. If, on the contrary, our opponent's statement of our case is inadequate, we shall be able to correct or enlarge his knowledge of it, and may reasonably desire him to consider and digest such additional information, correction, or argument, before he again announces himself as ready to controvert our positions. The same of course must be offered and done on both sides. By this means an infinite amount of vain and irrelevant discussion will be saved, and the existence of such principles and dispositions as are necessary towards profitable discussion will be tested at the outset.

Let us suppose, for example, the parties to a conference to be a member of the "Orthodox" Church on the one side, and a Latin on the other, who waives for the time his cardinal principle of the Papal Supremacy, and the question in debate to be that of the Procession of the HOLY GHOST. If the Latin is willing to endeavour to state the Greek side of the controversy, and appears to the Greek to do so fairly and completely, the Greek may expect to find something worth attending to in whatever the Latin may have to say afterwards on the other side. But if the

Latin in attempting to state the case of the Greek shows that he has not as yet sufficiently studied or understood it, the Greek will be able to point this out, and may fairly suspend further discussion till the Latin has more fully mastered the subject. This one rule is of itself almost enough to cut short any useless controversy, and to bring any profitable discussion to its issue in the shortest and clearest way.

With respect to the *persons* with whom we may at any time be brought into contact, and who may differ from us in religion, one general reflection is important: We see that of the vast numbers of Christians of different persuasions now living scarcely any have originated their errors, if they are in error, for themselves: they mostly follow simply that tradition in which they have been bred: if they are heretics or schismatics, they are so unconsciously: and if even they have imbibed from their sect more or less of the evil principles and spirit in which it originated, still this is so by the unhappiness of their position, not by any wilful and personal departure from the contrary good principles and good spirit of the truth. Now there is no more common fault, nor any fault more blameable, or more pernicious, than that of reasoning against men who have inherited their errors in the same tone and manner as might be suitable or venial if they were heresiarchs, or originators of schism. Let us suppose, for instance, a missionary from some heretical sect of England or America to be stationed in this city (of Athens :) What can be more sad, or more repulsive, than to see such a man attacked by Christians who, priding themselves on their "Orthodoxy" and their Baptism, seem to be no better in morals than sectaries who are unbaptized? who, while invoking Saints and kissing Icons, show the image of God in their lives and conversations no better than the revilers of the Mother of God and the destroyers of images? who are careless as powerless, and powerless as careless, to communicate their "Orthodoxy" to the world; and certainly have never yet dreamed of sending missionaries to preach to the Americans, or to the Chinese? who, while reviling sectaries for maintaining and preaching the error they have received, are too ready themselves to give up the truth that they have received, and to become infidels, for the sake of an ideal civilization? It would be better surely to reason thus:

"This man, who comes among us, is perhaps in error only accidentally, by no fault of his own, but through his unhappy tradition; while we, perhaps, are in the truth by no virtue of our own, but only by our tradition. His apparent zeal in seeking to communicate what he thinks truth is a personal virtue or merit in him: our want of a similar zeal or energy is a vice and defect in ourselves."

And as for the *cause* of schisms and heresies, it is generally to be found in some previous corruption among orthodox Christians. They have been cold; and heresy will preach warmth. They have been attached to forms, without the life and the spirit; and heresy will preach life and spirit without forms. They have multiplied human fables and traditions in things secondary; and heresy will curtail the faith in points essential. They have been superstitious worshippers of traditions; and heresy will recommend exclusively the study of the letter of Scripture. They have exaggerated Ecclesiastical authority, and carried it beyond its proper region of faith and discipline into political government, metaphysics, and even physical science; and heresy will bring in civil rulers, philosophers, and savans, and even democratical private judgment, to dogmatize concerning Ecclesiastical discipline and faith. The true way then not only to understand the origin and strength of heresy, but also to meet it with becoming remedies, will be by the "Orthodox" looking into themselves, and correcting or guarding against those faults from which heresy takes occasion; and by their exhibiting faithfully and fully that portion of truth on which heresy insists, so as to remove the prejudice excited against that other portion of truth which it denies, and so as to make all men perceive the superiority of orthodoxy, which contains all the parts or rays of truth united and unmixed, over heresy, which presents only dismembered and distorted fragments of truth mixed with malice and error.

In the next Section an attempt shall be made to pass briefly in review the present state of particular controversies between the Eastern or "Orthodox" Church and the Latin: in which review we shall speak as if from the Eastern side, and seek, not how much may be said against the Latins, but how much may be said towards peace with them. For if two brothers have

quarrelled, (to say nothing of the great probability that both are more or less in the wrong,) it would be amiable and winning if that one which was rather wronged of the two were the more ready to admit himself imperfect. And if CHRIST, who had no sin, made Himself sin for our sakes, surely we, who are sinners, may be willing, even if we are rather in the right of the two, to make as though we might be more or less in fault, and volunteer the first advances towards a reconciliation.

DISSERTATION VIII.

REMARKS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF PARTICULAR CONTROVERSIES BETWEEN THE "ORTHODOX" AND THE "ROMAN CATHOLIC" CHURCHES.

I. *Of the Procession of the Holy Spirit.*

A ROMAN theologian would not put this question first, but rather that of the Papal Supremacy; and reasonably, for if decided in his sense it supersedes and determines all others. Still, as this summary and oracular way of deciding all questions has never yet been perfectly received and acted on by *Councils* even among the Latins, and as the chief doctors among the Greeks have thought the question of the Procession to be the great, and indeed the only insuperable, bar to intercommunion, it shall here be treated first.

As to the mere point of form: That the insertion of the *Filioque* into the Creed, even supposing the doctrine to be true, was forbidden, and that it could not be inserted either by the Pope himself or by any Frankish or other Latin Bishops, with or without him, without their involving themselves and all their followers in sin, was confessed even by some Popes, as by Popes Leo III. and John VIII. And until some Œcumenical Council, recognized as such by themselves, shall decide otherwise, and authorize additions to the Creed, we cannot wonder at the Easterns persisting in their opinion that all additions are unlawful, and insisting on the restoration of the Creed as the first and indispensable requisite in order to union.

Supposing this point to be settled, there remains the deeper question of the doctrine in itself. Is the doctrine of the eternal procession of the HOLY GHOST from the SON either a truth which it is heresy to deny, or an error which it is heresy to teach?

That it is a truth at all the Greeks deny : and certainly they seem to prove (as may be seen from the treatise of *Adam Zoernikaff*) that it was unknown to all the Greek Fathers, and even expressly denied by some of them : and that the Latin Fathers too for many centuries (and especially St. Augustine,) taught distinctly the same doctrine with the Greek, and maintained the same phraseology : so that if any passages in which St. Augustine or others now seem to assert the modern Latin doctrine are genuine, those Fathers must have held at once two contrary modes of thought and language on the same subject, a supposition which is improbable, or which at any rate, under present circumstances, needs clear proof.

Now even if the Latin doctrine should be intrinsically true, the above are strong *primâ facie* presumptions against it, sufficiently strong to justify or excuse the Greeks for doubting hitherto or denying it. And there are other signs against it besides these : for instance, I. That when the expression of the HOLY GHOST proceeding "also from the SON" was first noticed and objected against by the Greeks, the Latins explained it away or dissembled it, instead of openly insisting on it as truth : Again, II. That when at length they had all received it themselves, the Latins attempted to force it into the Creed, and to impose it on the Church at large, by overbearing violence, not by an Œcumenical Council : Again, III. That in seeking to impose it upon the Easterns the Latins generally have rested it upon manifestly false grounds, as upon the ground of unbroken and explicit tradition. Again, IV. That a vast multitude of passages formerly alleged by the Latins both from Greek and Latin Fathers have been proved either to be interpolations altogether, or to have been corrupted : Lastly, V. That some of the texts most insisted on by the Latins at the Council of Florence, and shown afterwards by Zoernikaff to have been corrupted, have since Zoernikaff wrote been surrendered even by Latin editors ; so that the Greek cause, as respects the critical examination of passages, has gained materially in strength since the Council of Florence. But to reject a doctrine not revealed in Scripture, nor handed down by unbroken tradition from the beginning, but "dug out," or developed by a part of the Church in later ages, and violently thrust upon the rest on false grounds,

can never be heresy. If indeed it were confessed to be a novelty and a development, and sufficiently shown to be, notwithstanding, a legitimate and necessary development, there might be a greater responsibility in rejecting it.

On the other side, very many of the Greeks assert not only that the Latin doctrine is false in itself, but also that it is a heresy; and that the Latins are heretics for maintaining it. But against this view it is fair to object,

I. That those heretical consequences which seem to flow from the assertion of the Procession from the SON as well as from the FATHER, and on account of which the doctrine itself is said to be heresy, are clearly rejected and condemned as heresies by the Latins, no less than by the Greeks; which would seem to reduce the Latin error, if it be an error, to a mere misconception and misuse of words:

II. That all heresies spring from evil motives: but the motive which prompted the assertion of this doctrine is commonly admitted even by the Greeks to have been good, namely, the desire to maintain against the Arians and other heretics the co-equality of the SON with the FATHER:

III. That the Greeks have repeatedly, and all along, offered to unite and Communicate with the Latins, winking at all other faults, if only the form of the Creed were restored; which they could not have done, if the doctrine of the Procession from the SON had been held to be heresy in itself:

IV. That until not only *some*, or *many* passages, but *all* those passages in St. Augustine and other Latin Fathers which assert the Procession from the SON have been shown to be corrupt or interpolated, or in sense to mean no more than they were stated to mean in the explanation given at Rome to Maximus the Martyr in the seventh century, the Latins, even if they be in error, cannot be called heretics for adhering to a doctrine seemingly taught and bequeathed to them by great Saints, who are venerated as such by the Eastern Church no less than by their own.

We conclude then that, so long as the *Filioque* is not interpolated into the Creed without the consent of a Council, the question of the doctrine in itself is still open and pending; and that neither are the Greeks heretics if they deny it, nor the Latins if

they assert it, so long as they both desire that the subject may be fairly and religiously examined and decided by an Œcumenical Council.

II. *Of the Roman and Papal Supremacy.*

This for the Romans it is heresy to deny, and schism *ultimately* to resist; while the Greeks make the assertion of it to be the second great obstacle to union, and often call it in itself a heresy.

Now it is plain that the titles "Vicar of CHRIST" and "Head of the Church" are not in themselves necessarily either false or heretical, seeing that the Greeks themselves allow that in a certain sense and on certain occasions every Priest is CHRIST's vicar and representative, and that every Bishop is in his own diocese both vicar of CHRIST and head of the Church; so that the chief Bishop of any wider province, or Patriarchate, or of the whole Church, may well be called by the same titles, only in a more general and laxer sense.

It must, however, be admitted that these titles are claimed for the Pope of Rome in no such general or lax sense. But that spirit of unbounded domination, with the capacity for exercising it, which characterized pagan Rome has been transmitted as a local inheritance to Rome Christian. Already in the second century a Pope (Victor,) could think of cutting off from Communion whole Churches merely because they presumed to maintain a ritual tradition differing from his own: And a long history might be written of the encroachments, fresh precedents, conflicts, partial and occasional defeats, great and ultimate victories and conquests, by which the Roman See has subjugated and incorporated under its dominion the greater part of the Church, so as to afford a parallel with the gradual extension of the pagan Roman Empire over the habitable and civilized world. The practical question for the Easterns is the following: Seeing that such a spirit exists as a matter of fact in the Roman Church, and supposing it to be evil, (as they do suppose it to be,) does it follow that the Eastern Church must either accept and teach any heresy by Communicating with the Roman Church, or even thereby approve the Roman spirit of domination; supposing, that is, that the doctrine of the Papal Headship were

not imposed upon her in order to such Communion as an article of faith? Does it not on the contrary seem plain that such intercommunion (supposing the two Churches to be otherwise agreed in faith,) would involve neither the assertion nor the denial of any doctrinal proposition whatever, so far as the Easterns are concerned? and that, therefore, it is not only possible for them, but their duty, to offer such Communion?

But a question arises further, whether by so offering to Communicate with the Latins they would not be subjecting themselves sooner or later to Roman rule? and whether they may not justifiably break the visible unity of the Church for the sake of their Ecclesiastical liberty? But neither here is there really any room for doubt. For supposing Rome to be willing to Communicate on such terms, the Eastern Church would remain after the reunion just as free to resist all future encroachments as she has been for the last thousand years: and the only case in which Rome could enter, or establish any new precedent for interference, would be if questions were to arise within the Eastern Church herself, and that Church were to be unable, without calling in foreign aid, to enable an orthodox minority to overcome a heterodox majority. In this way in former times many Sees and Churches which once had been independent, and which might, if they had been perfect, have preserved for ever the canonical right of independence, lost both their independence, and their right to it, and fell under that power which gave the victory to an orthodox minority. And so, no doubt, it might possibly be again with the Eastern Churches after their reunion with Rome. But such a subjugation would be by their own fault, and to their disgrace, and would be to the honour of Rome, and a sign in favour of the Roman claims.

However, it may be said that this whole speculation is useless because, whatever it might be possible or right for the Easterns to offer, Rome cannot on her side allow any such conditions, but must require the Easterns simply to receive the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy as an article of faith, and to swear in practice to obey it. But this is not necessarily so:

That the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy, as now held and taught in the Latin Church, was not an article of the faith explicitly revealed and handed down by universal tradition from

the beginning is quite clear. Supposing it to be intrinsically a true doctrine, it must have been rather a deposit committed to the Roman Church alone, as the consciousness of a special gift to be manifested gradually as the circumstances of the Church should need it. And if it be now, either for the Latins or in itself, an article of the faith, it must have become so by development. But the disallowance of a doctrine resting not on express Scripture or on original and unbroken tradition, but on development, is not heresy; at least not until it has been (not obtruded violently on false and even absurd grounds, but) proposed *as a development* in a brotherly and Christian spirit, and the legitimacy and necessity of such a development sufficiently demonstrated. The Latin Church has Communicated in former ages with the Eastern without exacting any confession of the Papal Supremacy as an article of faith, and without imposing any oath of obedience, or sending Bulls and Palls in cases of fresh consecrations of Bishops or Primates from Rome. And she might do so again, if she pleased, without waiving a tittle of her own claims or ideas concerning her own abstract rights and powers; merely waiting her time, till the Easterns of themselves, or under the influence of some future events or circumstances, should ripen among themselves that development which human scandals and passions and mismanagement have hitherto prevented or retarded. To act thus economically with a Church which has never admitted the Papal Supremacy as a doctrine would involve no such retractation or humiliation for Rome as would be involved if any of those Churches which have long been governed by her, (if the Spanish Church, for instance, or even the Gallican,) were to be suffered for the future to govern themselves free from all external interference.

III. *Of Western Baptisms without Trine Immersion.*

Between the time of Michael Cerularius and that of the Council of Florence the Greeks often, but not uniformly, treated such Latin Baptisms as had been administered without trine immersion as mere nullities: and in Russia too we find in the eleventh and twelfth centuries Greek Prelates directing that all "Romans" or "Latins" not regularly dipped with three immersions were to be "Baptized." On the other hand the

German Latins also, by way probably of retaliating upon the Easterns, rebaptized during several centuries Christians coming over to them from the Oriental or Greek rite, without any ritual pretext whatever.

As for the Greeks, their occasional and inconsistent usage of rebaptizing Latins seemed after the Council of Florence to be corrected and done away for ever, and one uniform practice to be established for the future, by a Synod held at Constantinople in 1484, which all the four Patriarchs confirmed. And the enactments of this Synod were extended to Russia in 1667 by a mixed Synod of Greek and Russian Bishops held at Moscow, to which all the four Patriarchs were consenting parties, and over which two of them, Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch, presided in person. And it is remarkable that this Synod of Moscow not only abrogated the custom of rebaptizing Latins which had been decreed by a previous local Synod held under the Patriarch Philaret Niketich, grandfather of the reigning Sovereign Alexis, but gave reasons and precedents to satisfy the scruples of Alexis, showing that the erroneous decrees of a local Council might be so corrected and abrogated by another *greater* and *more general* Council. And the question which had been submitted to this Council was not merely whether the Latins ought to be rebaptized on the ground of heresy, but also this, "Whether it is necessary or right by condescension to recognize as Christians those who have been Baptized otherwise than with three immersions"? The same rule was extended to the Baptisms of Lutherans and Calvinists by a Synod held at Constantinople early in the eighteenth century; and was soon afterwards established in the Russian Church by the Answer of the Patriarch Jeremiah III. to Peter the Great, an Answer professedly based upon the decisions of the abovementioned Synods.

However, in 1756 an *Όρος* or Constitution put forth at Constantinople with the signatures of three Patriarchs, but without any synodal act, reversed all the former decisions; and using the terms "affusion" and "aspersion" indifferently, and imputing them both to the Latins, ordered that thenceforth Latin and other Western Baptisms, as being administered by sprinkling, should be held to be invalid; and that all proselytes from Western communities not previously Baptized by trine immersion should

be "Baptized." And thus the custom of rebaptizing being reintroduced into the *Greek Church* has been uniformly maintained by it ever since; while the contrary custom of admitting the essential validity of Latin Baptisms, grounded on earlier decisions of the *Greek Church*, is still maintained by the *Russian Church*; and the *Eastern Church* as a whole has in consequence two contrary and irreconcilable doctrines and practices at once on this important subject.

The Greeks however by dissembling with the Russians, and by admitting without question as orthodox Christians to their Communion all those "unbaptized" persons (from the Consorts of the Imperial Family down to the thousands of ordinary Latins and Protestants annually received as proselytes,) who have been received to Communion by the Russians, show their own habit of rebaptizing to be either a wilful sacrilege, (for it is sacrilege to attempt knowingly to repeat Baptism,) or else, as we must rather for the sake of charity interpret it, to be virtually, though not in form, conditional or hypothetical. This latter explanation of it is no absurdity. For so the ancient Canons direct infants and others about whom there is any doubt to be simply "Baptized." And persons who have received doubtful Ordination are simply Ordained, without its being understood that their former Ordination is thereby declared with certainty to have been a nullity.

Not only do the Greeks by dissembling with the Russians reduce their own practice to a conditional sense, but by their unanimous admission that in case of necessity, or for any great advantage, (as in dealing with large bodies of men or whole communities at once, or to avoid any great scandal,) they *can* use condescension or economy on the subject, and receive Westerns without rebaptism, they virtually acknowledge the validity of Western Baptisms, and reduce their own doctrine to this sad and self-condemnatory proposition, "*Latin Baptisms are a nullity, except when we Greeks please that they be recognized.*" The only excuses which can be found for this are, first, that the modern Greek Clergy have not been trained to reason accurately, and if they find themselves entangled in any awkward logical consequences, dismiss summarily all such thorny difficulties as having nothing to do with religion: and, secondly, that they

can object that similar inconsistencies of opinion and practice existed both on this very subject of Baptism and on others of great importance in earlier ages ; and what the Church endured in the way of inconsistency or imperfection then she may endure now ; and so it is not necessary to put themselves to any great trouble to reconcile the Russian practice and their own. But there is a wide difference between the coexistence of contrary opinions and practices in earlier ages, when communication was comparatively difficult, and when the discovery of any such inconsistency led immediately to a conflict and finally to its removal, and the conscious and purposed maintenance of contradictory opinions or usages at the present day.

The admission of many Greeks that clinic Baptism administered by an orthodox Priest without trine immersion, or without immersion at all, ought not to be repeated, is another plain testimony to the truth : as is also the uniform conduct of the Greek Church on all occasions of public negotiation whether with the Latins, (as at the Council of Florence in 1448,) or with Protestants (as with the Lutherans between 1584 and 1587, and with the Anglican Nonjurors between 1716 and 1724,) with a view to union. Never at any time has she on such occasions so much as hinted that the Westerns need to be Baptized. If indeed it had been otherwise, all other discussions about doctrine, even about the *Filioque* itself, or the Papal Supremacy, would have been secondary and out of place. The Latins, having had no Baptism since the time that they disused trine immersion and adopted affusion or sprinkling, could have no Sacraments, and no Priesthood : so that to discuss with them other details with a view to union would have been, and would be still, quite superfluous. But the Greeks, as has been said, have not been trained to logic ; and consider that all such difficulties arising from their own inconsistencies may be avoided as some birds are said to avoid the fowler, by putting their heads under a leaf and shutting their eyes, though their whole body is left exposed.

There are also other signs that the Greeks are in error on this subject ; namely, that their most learned and eminent men in speaking of it differ much from one another, as having no uniform tradition nor line of argument to bring forward. They often give as the ground for the Constitution of 1756

the most palpably false and calumnious statements as to the Latin manner of Baptizing, and as to their having *changed* their Baptismal ritual since the earlier Greek decisions against rebaptism: and they often run off into foolish and acrimonious tirades against Rome and the Pope, which have nothing whatever to do with this particular question. In presence of such signs and such dispositions argument is useless. Let us rather be ashamed, and pray.

Dismissing then the present lamentable state of feeling and opinion on this subject as self-contradictory and self-condemned, and looking forward to better times, let us consider the question in itself:

It is admitted that clinic Baptism administered by an orthodox Priest, though administered without trine immersion, or without immersion at all, is a valid sacrament of regeneration, and not to be repeated if the party recovers. And if this be so, the fact that the Church allows clinic Baptism without immersion on the ground of necessity, but forbids so to Baptize in cases where she sees no necessity, will not prevent such Baptisms, if improperly administered in contravention of the Church's prohibition, from being valid Baptisms, although it may subject the parties so improperly administering Baptism to Ecclesiastical penance or excommunication.

Baptism by *sprinkling* (which is unhappily common among many of the Protestants, and among the Anglicans also, though contrary to the Anglican Ritual,) is distinguishable from Baptism by affusion or washing on this account, that it does not offer the same *certainty* that the water touches the person baptized. And on this account it may be reasonable to rebaptize *conditionally* those who have been Baptized only by sprinkling. Otherwise, the Scriptures themselves, "I will sprinkle clean water upon them and they shall be clean:" and again "If the ashes of a heifer sprinkling the unclean sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh, much more shall the blood of CHRIST purge the conscience, &c.:" and again: "Having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water:" and the answer of CHRIST Himself to Peter, "He that is *washed* needeth not to wash every part, but is clean every whit," (though it be only one part that is outwardly washed,) seem to show that

it is not the quantity of the water used, nor the manner of its application, on which depends the grace of the Sacrament.

But thus much being laid down, and it being supposed to be conceded that persons improperly Baptized otherwise than by trine immersion, without any real necessity allowed by the Church, are still to be acknowledged as Baptized and regenerate; and that those only who have been Baptized by *sprinkling*, or concerning whom there exists any real doubt, may be rebaptized conditionally, (the conditionality being either expressed, or understood,) there remains still the question, How are those to be dealt with who presume so to Baptize improperly?

In two cases the answer to this question is easy. For first, if the persons so irregularly Baptizing are aliens to the Church, she can do nothing; for she judges "not them that are without, but them that are within." And secondly, if they are individuals of the Clergy or laity under the jurisdiction of any particular Church, they will be punished by that Church according to her Canons. But there is a third case, the following, which is less clear:

Supposing any whole Church, as the Latin, to persist in permitting or directing within its own sphere the administration of Baptism after an irregular form, without any real necessity, and refusing to amend her practice, would this alone justify the Easterns in refusing to Communicate with the West? or might not even this abuse, though great, be endured for the sake of unity?

On the one hand, it is undeniable that if Baptism is unnecessarily administered otherwise than by trine immersion, some of those lesser mysteries which it contains are no longer visibly exhibited in each particular case of its administration. Neither the three Persons of the Trinity, (so far as the *act* of Baptism is concerned,) nor the three days and nights of CHRIST's lying in the grave, nor our being buried with CHRIST (by being submerged under the water,) and rising again with Him (by rising out of the water,) to newness of life, are expressed as they were formerly expressed by the Catholic and Apostolic Ritual. And the greater or more powerful any part of the Church which disregards these lesser mysteries of Baptism, the greater also will be the danger that the remaining portions of the Church may

become infected with the same irreverence, and so the full type of the Sacrament be lost altogether. In principle therefore it might seem reasonable to deny the right of an individual Pope, or even of the whole Western Church, to change the œcumenical form of Baptism, and to insist upon the correction of this abuse as an indispensable preliminary to reunion. And we may hope that in an united Œcumenical Council there would be no difficulty in obtaining such a correction.

But if there were difficulty, then perhaps, as sometimes in medicine, it would be right to consider not what is best or good in itself, but what is possible or tolerable under the circumstances. If at the beginning of the schism such men as Theophylact of Bulgaria judged that unity was so high a duty that for the sake of it all the Latin abuses, excepting only the interpolation of the Creed, might be endured, much more surely after a thousand years' experience of the horrible effects resulting from separation may we think the same, when all the world seems merging into immorality and infidelity on account of the outward obscuration of unity. And it might well be hoped that evils which it has been found impossible to correct by division might be corrected after reunion. And in the mean time not only the judgment of Theophylact and others, but many public precedents on the part of the Greek and Russian Churches since the schism may be adduced to show that such long-suffering is not impossible.

IV. *Of the Controversy respecting Priests applying the Holy Chrism.*

The Latins in the ninth century reconfirmed, or reanointed by their Bishops in Bulgaria those who had been already anointed with the holy Chrism after Baptism by Greek Priests. This controversy, so far as the Latins are concerned, has indeed since been brought to an end, and their objections have been withdrawn, the conditions which they would have dictated at Florence to the Greeks allowing the Greek practice, and various Uniat congregations still retaining it. Still, it may be worth while to offer some remarks on the subject, as it may supply an important hint and lesson for the reconciliation of misunderstandings and the restoration of unity.

The gift of the HOLY GHOST was given through the Apostles, and afterwards through their successors, the Bishops. The divine unguent ran from their hands on to the heads of the baptized. But an Apostle or a Bishop was necessary for this ministry. This is what the Latins rightly asserted: and on this account, seeing the Greek Priests apply the holy Chrism, they imagined that the Greeks made the Priest, no less than the Bishop, the source of this divine gift. But if they had known or considered that the Chrism so applied by Greek Priests must have been consecrated previously by the Bishop, (and by the chief Bishop,) and that it ran originally from his hands, and that not all the Priests in the world without a Bishop could consecrate or make the Chrism, they might have perceived in this a testimony even more emphatic than their own to the truth that the Bishop only is the proper and original minister of Confirmation, the Priest's hands for convenience' sake applying the outward unguent, but the Bishop's hands alone having made that unguent effectual for conferring spiritual grace.

Here is an instance of misunderstanding, scandal, and schism, arising from that which ought rather to have been a cause for mutual love, and honour, and edification; and for glorifying in common that SPIRIT from Whose deep unity all varieties of outward rite within the Catholic Church, as garments of the heavenly Bride, receive their contrasted but harmonizing colours. And this one instance may suffice to bring to our notice a general principle; and may furnish us with a key to the more or less complete understanding and reconciliation of very many other discrepancies and controversies; and may fill us with shame and humiliation for those sins, and especially for that want of charity, which has in so many instances turned our very beauty and glory into scandal. The reader will be able to apply this principle of reconciliation in detail for himself, and will probably find it take him a long way. As a help and illustration at the outset he may consider one other instance in a purely ritual matter of no controversial importance; namely, the following:

A Greek Priest hearing for the first time that the Sunday after Pentecost is not the festival of All Saints for the Latins, but Trinity Sunday, and learning that this Latin festival of Trinity Sunday is of comparatively late institution, will probably

enough show his self-complacency at the antiquity of his own ritual, and utter some sarcasm at the improprieties of Latin innovation. Yet if fairly considered, the Latin custom in this point, be the date of its introduction what it may, will be found to be a beautiful variety and supplement to the Greek, so that the two taken together express the whole of one idea with a completeness which neither of them could have alone. With the Greeks the festival of Pentecost is the festival of the Trinity because by the descent of the HOLY GHOST the revelation of the three Divine Persons is completed; and with this the Latins, making the octave of the festival to be the special festival of the Trinity, do not disagree: for the octave is the repetition and completion of the first day. The only difference is, that the Greek order contemplates the TRINITY as pre-existing and about to reveal Itself by the descent of the HOLY GHOST, the Latin order contemplates the knowledge of the TRINITY as the result and fruit of that descent, to be acknowledged by us subsequently. And as the HOLY GHOST Which came down on the day of Pentecost began thenceforth immediately to form and sanctify the body of the Church, the Greek ritual with manifest propriety makes the festival of All Saints not only to follow next after that of Pentecost, but to begin from its octave, to be its supplement, continuation, and completion. The Latin ritual, on the other hand, inasmuch as the sanctification of the body of the Church, though beginning from the day of Pentecost, is not complete till the end, celebrates the festival of All Saints at that season when the Ecclesiastical year is all but completed, and we are now coming round again to the Second Advent. The instructions contained in the Epistles and Gospels for all the Sundays after Pentecost represent all the workings of the HOLY GHOST for the sanctification of the elect during the time of the Dispensation: and then, after the Saints of the whole Dispensation have been thus perfected, they are all mystically united together in one common festival. But the beginning of their prospective sanctification immediately after the Day of Pentecost and the completion of their actual sanctification at the end, and its celebration retrospectively, together make up one complete idea: and either ritual would be comparatively imperfect, if it had not the other for its supplement. But to return:

Respecting the controversy about the administration of the Holy Chrism by Priests it is further worthy of notice that it may have an indirect connection, through the mystical significance of the ritual, with the doctrine of the *original* and *secondary* procession, or rather of the *procession* and *dispensation*, of the HOLY GHOST.

The Latin ritual by making the Bishop alone to be both the maker and the applier of the holy Chrism symbolizes this truth, that the HOLY SPIRIT, both in Himself and in His application as a gift, is from the FATHER ; and there stops short. But the Greek ritual, which, while restricting the making of the Chrism to the Bishop, allows it to be applied by the Priest also, symbolizes not only the above truth that the HOLY SPIRIT is hypostatically from the FATHER (and the FATHER only,) but also this, that He is sent and given in the Dispensation by the SON. And the Latins, who blamed the Greeks for not asserting an eternal hypostatical procession from the SON, were at the same time, without knowing what they did, attacking the Greek ritual for symbolizing *even* so much as a secondary procession or derivation from the SON, and insisting on the exclusive validity of their own ritual, which so insisted on, to the exclusion of the interpretation and supplement afforded it by the Greek, would hint a denial not only of the eternal and hypostatical, but even of the secondary and dispensatory procession from the SON.

Again, the Latin Church by the admission of the Eastern ritual in Uniat congregations is now herself symbolizing, though unconsciously perhaps and unintentionally, the doctrine of the original hypostatical procession being from the FATHER only, besides being indebted to the Uniat Greek ritual for an interpretation and supplement which shows that her own Latin ritual does not deny the secondary procession from the SON.

A further question concerning Confirmation or Chrism arises from the Latin practice of deferring it to years of discretion, and even then perhaps confounding the relative order of the Sacraments by giving the holy Communion to those about to be Confirmed *first*, without any necessity. It is easy to see that in whatever degree the development of the moral and intellectual nature is deemed a prerequisite for the Sacraments of spiritual Unction and spiritual Food, it must be no less but rather more so for the

Sacrament of the New Birth. Whatever reasons of convenience may have prompted the postponement, it has opened a wide door to Lutheran and Calvinistic errors, as is exemplified in the Anglican Church, whose Bishops are fixing later and later the age for receiving candidates for Confirmation. The Easterns therefore would naturally and properly seek to correct this error, though, if it were found impossible to correct it, its continuance might be endured for the sake of unity.

V. Of *Azymes*.

As for the *Azymes* of the Latins, which the Greeks in the eleventh century (probably soon after their introduction,) objected as a sufficient cause for separation as much as, and sometimes even more than the *Filioque*, there are certainly signs that the Roman Church herself originally consecrated like the Easterns in leavened bread, as has been admitted by some of the most learned and candid of the modern Latins. And if one dwells on the sense attached to the leaven in the Eucharist by the Fathers, and suggested by its office in making that natural bread which is the symbol of the Heavenly Bread, the Latin custom must appear in the light of a lawless and mischievous innovation, destructive in part of the sense and propriety of the symbol. But if one considers on the other hand that "*leaven*" is spoken of also in a bad sense in the Scriptures, and that the present rite of the Latins was not introduced to symbolize any heretical doctrine, (as the Armenian alteration of the *Τρισάγιον* was, and perhaps also their unmixed cup,) but to symbolize the same orthodox doctrine as that of the Greeks, though by a different and contrary application of the symbol *leaven*, the only question which remains is, first, whether even half the Church with the Pope, but without a Council, could rightly vary the previously existing œcumenical rite in such a matter? and, secondly, seeing that the Pope and the Western Church have as a matter of fact varied the previously existing œcumenical rite, and that their use of *Azymes* has now been a fixed custom for many centuries, it must be considered whether, persuasion failing, that which was irregularly introduced may not, *in that sense in which they mean it*, be for the sake of peace indulged to them; or whether the Easterns even on this ground are justified

in refusing, or are bound to refuse, their Communion till such time as the Latins return to the ancient and oecumenical practice? This case of the unlawful introduction of Azymes is much like that of the equally irregular introduction of Baptism by one immersion, not as rejecting the sense of trine immersion which figured the three equal Persons, but as varying the symbol in order to express another part of the truth, that is, the unity of their common Divine essence.

VI. *Of the Form of Consecration in the Liturgy.*

The modern Latins have been in the habit of blaming the Greek and other Eastern Liturgies for not consecrating by the recital of Our SAVIOUR's words of Institution, to which their Schoolmen have attached the whole force of the Consecration, so as to make it improper to pray *afterwards* for the descent of the HOLY GHOST to change the Gifts. And though they seem at length to have yielded to the overwhelming force of the evidence against them thus far as to allow that the Eastern Forms are not necessarily heretical, but may be tolerated, they yet continue, wherever they can, (as in the case of various United Rites in the East,) to mutilate the Eastern Forms of Consecration and force them into agreement with their own. And indeed it is not easy to see, with their doctrine, how they could do otherwise.

But we may set aside their inaccurate scholasticism, or correct it, and reduce it within tolerable limits, so that it shall mean no more than this, that as the Divine word "*Increase and multiply,*" once spoken gives force to all marriages to the end of time, without constituting of itself the Form of Marriage, so also in the Eucharist CHRIST's words "*This is My Body,*" instead of leaving nothing for the Priest to do afterwards but to repeat them, rather imply and require that he should do that which CHRIST Himself did; that is, offer the Gifts with thanksgiving, and pray that they may become His Body and Blood now also, as then when He made them to be so Himself. And this being so understood, the question remaining for us will be, not to defend the Greeks who are plainly right in doing what they do, but to examine how far the Latins may be, even in spite of themselves, excusable or tolerable, though they seem not to do the same.

Now if any Church made the Nuptial Benediction to consist

in the bare recital by the Priest of the Divine word "*Increase and multiply,*" wrapping up therein her own prayer that this word might now take effect by His grace who originally spake it, it would not be easy to show that such a Form is insufficient, or absolutely invalid, even though Schoolmen might have attached some gross and superstitious idea to the mere utterance of the words themselves. It could only be said that such a Form is not the fullest or most convenient that could be devised. And the same will hold of the recitation of CHRIST's words of Institution in the Eucharist. If the Roman Church wills to use them in such a way, they will be, even alone and of themselves, a valid Consecration, not because their recital has been appointed by God as an instrument to work the change of the elements, but because the intention with which they are recited virtually contains, though it does not outwardly express, that oblation and prayer, or invocation, which are with more propriety expressed distinctly in all other Liturgies.

But perhaps the text of the Roman Mass contains, even as it stands, an implied invocation of the HOLY GHOST elsewhere than under the recital of the words of Institution. Such an invocation may be supposed to be implied either just before the recital of the words of Institution, or after them. For just before the recital of the words of Institution we find these words :

"Accepta habeas hæc dona, quæ Tibi offerimus . . . Hanc Oblationem placatus accipias . . . Quam Oblationem Tu Domine in omnibus quæsumus benedictam acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii Tui Domini Nostri JESU CHRISTI : Qui pridie quam pateretur," &c.

And after the recital of the words of Institution and the Oblation immediately following them we have the subjoined petition :

"Supra quæ propitio vultu respicere digneris, et jube . . . præferri in sublime altare Tuum; . . . ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii Tui Corpus et Sanguinem sumpserimus omni benedictione cælesti et gratiâ repleamur."

Now if we take the *former* words to answer to the Greek Oblation and Invocation of the HOLY GHOST, (And in that case what follows after the words of Institution in the Latin Mass will answer to *Ἐτι προσφέρομεν κ. τ. λ.* that is, "*Further we offer,*" &c., in the Greek ;) then we may think with reason that it is all

one whether we say with the Roman Form (and with the English Communion Office,) "*We offer these Gifts, and pray Thee to bless them to be His Body and Blood who said, This is My Body, This is My Blood; This do in remembrance of Me.*" or with the Eastern Liturgies, "*He said 'This is My Body, This is My Blood: This do in remembrance of Me.'* Wherefore we now offer these Gifts, and pray Thee to send down Thy HOLY SPIRIT upon them and bless them to be His Body and Blood."

Or, if we take what in the Roman Mass precedes the words of Institution to have been only preparatory, and think what follows after them to correspond with what follows after them in the Greek Liturgies, (as some may be inclined to do, seeing the close resemblance of the Oblation which follows the words of Institution in the Roman Mass to that following the same words in all other Liturgies,) then in that case there will not be even the slight variety of order to be reconciled. The only difference will be this, that while the Greek Invocation of the HOLY SPIRIT after the words of Institution and the Oblation following them is explicit, the Roman is implicit and indirect, wrapped up in the prayer "*Supra quæ propitio vultu respicere digneris, et jube . . . præferri in sublime altare Tuum; . . . ut quotquot ex hæc altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii Tui Corpus et Sanguinem sumpserimus omni benedictione cælesti et gratiâ repleamur.*" At the same time it must be confessed that these words, as they stand, though they *may* possibly bear such a sense, yet sound much rather as if the Consecration was now supposed to be completed, and remind one of that prayer which is bidden among the Greeks "for the Gifts that have been offered" after the completion of the Consecration, and in which, as here, mention is made of the "*supercelestial altar.*" "*Ἐπεὶ τῶν προσκομισθέντων καὶ ἁγιασθέντων τιμίων Δώρων, ὅπως ὁ Θεὸς . . . ὁ προσδεξάμενος αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ ὑπερουράνιον καὶ νοερὸν αὐτοῦ θυσιαστήριον, . . . ἀντικαταπέμψῃ ἡμῖν τὴν θείαν χάριν καὶ τὴν δωρεάν τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος.*" So that, if there has been no alteration (such as Greek and Anglican writers suppose there must have been, but which we had better not suppose without proof,) it seems most probable that the Invocation of the HOLY SPIRIT spoken of by early Latin writers in common with the Greek as effecting the change is wrapped up in the prayer which precedes the words of Institu-

tion, and so is continued and closed emphatically by the recital of these words themselves.

VII. *Of the position of the Great Oblation.*

Connected with the question of the form and the moment of the Consecration there is another, respecting the Oblation. For according to the ideas of the Latin Schoolmen, the change taking place on the utterance of CHRIST's words of Institution, the Oblation which follows immediately after them in the Roman Mass is an oblation not of bread and wine as symbols, but of CHRIST's very Body and Blood. And this will equally be the case whether we suppose with the Schoolmen the consecration to be effected by the mere utterance of CHRIST's words, or by the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST wrapped up in that utterance and in the prayer preceding. On the other hand the Oblation of the Greek and of all other Liturgies, except the Roman, though it is like that of the Roman in following immediately after the words of Institution, yet, being followed itself by the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST to change the Gifts, cannot be supposed to be an oblation here on earth of CHRIST's literal Body and Blood; but must be held to be, so far as the earthly altar is concerned, an oblation of bread and wine as symbols or antitypes of that Sacrifice which is ever present upon the heavenly altar, and which the Priest below also offers in some sense even before the Gifts are changed by virtue of his union with CHRIST.

But neither here is there really any doctrinal difference between the Greeks and the Latins, but only a difference of ritual, and of relative proportion in the prominence given to the oblation *before* or *after* the Consecration has been perfected. For though we allow that the great Oblation in the Latin Mass occurs after that the Consecration has been really perfected, and so is an oblation of CHRIST's very Body and Blood, while the great Oblation of the Eastern Liturgies, though in words nearly identical, yet occurring before their Consecration is perfected, can be no more than an oblation of bread and wine, still it is to be remarked that both the Latin Mass has had also another previous preparatory oblation answering to the great Oblation of the Greeks, only less emphatic, and standing before instead of after CHRIST's words of Institution; and the Greek Liturgies, on the

other hand, have also a *continuance* of the Oblation, answering to the great Oblation of the Roman Mass, only less emphatic, after their Consecration is perfected. (“*Ἐτι προσφέρμεν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσαμένων,*” κ. τ. λ.) For the Greek Priest, even after the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST and the change of the Gifts, that is, after the consummation of the Sacrifice, continues still to offer and to plead that same Oblation which he had made indeed before, but which has now acquired by CHRIST’s presence on the altar a new sense and depth, as is clearly expressed by St. Cyril of Jerusalem in his Catechetical Lectures, when he says that those most solemn prayers which are made immediately after the Consecration both for the departed and for the living on earth derive no small efficacy from the presence of the Eternal Victim on the altar. And this is fully equivalent to the idea of the great Oblation of the Roman Mass after the Consecration.

Of course if any one should suppose an Invocation of the HOLY GHOST to change the Gifts to be implied in the prayer “*Jube hæc præferri,*” &c.: which occurs in the Roman Mass after CHRIST’s words of Institution and the Oblation following them, he would then have all the three parts of the Consecration in the Roman Mass corresponding exactly both in order and sense with the same three parts in the Greek; and the Roman Oblation would then no longer be of CHRIST’s literal Body and Blood, but, like the Greek, of the symbols of bread and wine. But there would still even then remain in the Roman Mass, as in the Greek, the same thing in sense; that is, a continuance of the Oblation after the Consecration in the Prayer following, “*Communicantes,*” &c. However, it is much more reasonable to suppose that our LORD’s words were always regarded in the Roman Mass as the emphatic termination of the Consecration, and that the Latin Schoolmen of the middle ages followed upon the whole the true traditional sense of their Ritual, than to suppose without proof that they invented their theory of CHRIST’s words being the Form of Consecration arbitrarily, in contravention of the wording and traditional meaning of their Mass, and then gave a totally new sense to the Oblation, and otherwise mutilated this most solemn of all Services merely to make it consistent with their theory. This is too great an improbability.

But whatever view be taken of the matter, this is certain, that both Easterns and Westerns agree in the doctrine that the Sacrifice and Oblation is consummated in the strictest sense by the change of the Gifts itself: and hence it follows that neither does the making of a distinct oblation by the Priest afterwards (if such an oblation be made,) really add anything essential, nor does the omission of any such distinct oblation (if no such oblation be made,) really take away anything essential. The difference can be only in the presence or absence of an outward ritual exhibition of that which necessarily exists in both cases alike in virtue of the Consecration itself.

VIII. *Of Communion under one kind only.*

However blameable may be the Latin practice of giving the holy Communion to the laity under one kind only, it cannot reasonably be pretended that the laity are thereby deprived of the benefit of the Sacrament altogether. For all Christians would admit unhesitatingly that if in any case it were impossible for a man to Communicate in both kinds, (as in some rare cases of sickness it may be,) it would be allowable and right to Communicate in one kind only; and that any one so Communicating might confidently trust to God to give him the whole benefit of the Sacrament, Christianity being a religion not of forms but of spirit. And for the laity among the Latins the discipline of their Church is really a necessity. The only question for the Greeks to consider is, whether the fault and abuse of the Latin Clergy in so withholding, without any real necessity to excuse *them*, one kind from the laity is so great that, if they refuse to correct it, it is alone a sufficient reason and justification for refusing to Communicate either with them or with the laity who are wronged by them.

If indeed any Christians refused to receive, or any Clergy refused to administer, in both kinds in order to symbolize any heresy, (as, for instance, pretending that the use of wine was unlawful,) it might be a sufficient reason for withdrawing from their Communion. But the motive for the maintenance of their present usage among the Latins is well known by the Greeks to be reverence, though it may be a mistaken reverence; the very same reverence indeed which moved nearly all the Easterns,

since the end of the fifth century, to a slighter innovation, namely that of giving the two kinds to the laity *mixed*. And this abuse of the Latins, though of much later origin, may reasonably be comprehended with the rest under that general judgment of so many learned and holy men of the Eastern Church, that, *if only the Creed be restored*, all the other errors and abuses of the Latins may be borne with and winked at by the Eastern Church for the sake of unity, however much she may, and must, desire and labour for their correction. The like may be said of their custom of depriving young children of the holy Communion, which has already been alluded to in speaking of the holy Chrism or Confirmation, which the Latins delay (and together with it the first Communion,) till children have reached the age of seven or eight years at the least, often much longer.

IX. *Of the state of the Saints before the last Judgment.*

With regard to the admission of the Saints to heaven and to the beatific vision before the final resurrection and judgment, it is difficult to understand how any quarrel should have arisen: for, *popularly speaking*, one finds exactly the same language on this subject received in both Churches. If the Latins have sometimes pressed this language too far, so as to impair the proportion of sound doctrine, this can never make it reasonable for the Greeks to run into the contrary extreme, and by way of opposing a Latin error to condemn and reject altogether language which is consecrated in their own Hymnologies, and which is constantly proceeding out of their own mouths.

X. *Of Purgatory.*

The doctrine of Purgatory is taught by the Latins, and is rejected by the Greeks. The doctrine of the Fathers and of the early Church, of the present Greek or "Orthodox" Church, and of all the other separated Eastern Churches, is this, that generally speaking, and upon the whole, the state of the faithful departed is a state of light, and rest, and peace, and refreshment, of happiness far greater than any belonging to this life, yet inferior to that which shall be enjoyed after the resurrection and the final Judgment. The doctrine of the Latins, on the

other hand, is this, that generally speaking, and upon the whole, the state of the faithful departed is a state of penal torment, differing from that of hell only in the certainty of future deliverance. Here is certainly in appearance a very wide difference between the two Churches : yet perhaps even here the difference is not radically one of doctrine, but only of relative proportion.

For there being many differences and degrees among the souls of those who die with the root or habit of repentance and faith and hope and charity in them, and many venial sins and effects of mortal sins adhering in different proportions to departing souls, there are souls in the *lower* ranks of them that may yet be saved of which the Greeks can think with hope, but yet cannot think of them as being at once absolutely and unmixedly in a state of happiness. But of such they think as needing the prayers and oblations of the Church upon earth to procure their refreshment, and to lighten them “τῶν κατεχόντων αὐτοὺς ἀνισπῶν.” On the other hand the Latins think of the *higher* souls that they either go straight through Purgatory, or are speedily released from it, and that in proportion as any soul is higher its state, though still upon the whole a state of penal torment, perhaps even in material fire, contains more and more of those same elements of comfort and refreshment which according to the Greek theology predominate for the souls of the faithful generally. The elements then in each of the two theologies are the same; in the Greek happiness, with some admixture nevertheless of suffering; in the Latin suffering, with some admixture nevertheless of refreshment and happiness : only the proportions in which these two elements of happiness and suffering are thought and spoken of are different and contrary. And even this contrariety may perhaps admit of reconciliation, as follows :

It may be that in earlier ages, when Christians were generally better, the world openly opposed to the Church and divided from it, and discipline within the Church stricter, there would have been some incongruity in the Church or her members dwelling on, or even perceiving, any admixture of pain and sadness in the state of faithful souls after death : while on the contrary when the world had entered into the Church, when the general deterioration of manners among Christians was mani-

fest, and discipline either obsolete altogether or reduced to a mere shadow of what it had been, it was natural and inevitable that more should be thought of the state of the lower classes of souls which might yet be saved, and that their seemingly immense multitude should give a tone and colour to the general view taken by the Church of the intermediate state.

If such a view should be admissible, it would seem to follow that an eighth Œcumenical Council would not necessarily find any great difficulty in defining limits within which the doctrine concerning the intermediate state should be held to be dogmatically decreed, or left open to a variable phraseology. The Greek Church already joins together the two contrary ideas in her solemn prayers for the Day of Pentecost, and might equally allow the whole body of existing Latin phraseology on this subject to coexist in one Communion together with the whole body of her own, so long as no particular words or ideas were so unduly pressed or generalized as to subvert the older and more Catholic proportion of doctrine.

XI. *Of Indulgences.*

That the Bishop or the Church can grant Indulgences or relaxations of the canonical penances imposed on sin in this world, all Churches and Sects which impose penances at all for sin agree. And as canonical penances varied for different sins, and might last many years or even a whole life for single acts of sin, there is no essential absurdity in granting Indulgences for very long periods, even for hundreds or thousands of years, unless it be conceived to be impossible (which unhappily is only too possible,) that our sins should have merited whole ages of penance. Nor is the granting of such Indulgences even for the dead, either absolutely, if they have been formally bound before death to such and such specific terms of penance, and have died with their penance unperformed, or conditionally and vaguely, so far as they may have died *liable* to penance, any error or absurdity, though it may be difficult to express in words the precise effect of such an act of the Church on the souls to which it is applied. Because God is above all outward means, even of His own Sacraments, and may be trusted to correct all errors and to supply all defects, it does not therefore follow that the Church,

which is visible, need neglect to do any outward act, or need suppose it void of efficacy if she does it. And if by her mouth, that is, by the Canons, she has spoken outwardly a word to *bind*, and has measured her bond by *years, months, and days*, it is as suitable that she should, even for the dead, indulge or remit the bond, as that she should say: "He is dead indeed (or may have died,) in the bond of excommunication, and with penances unperformed, and now, though we may trust he is pardonable, it is not worth while to rehabilitate his memory, seeing that God is Almighty, and will set all right with his soul." Even the Anglican Church, which rejects Purgatory and Indulgences, and omits Prayers for the Dead, retains the power and the usage of removing the bond of excommunication after death. As to Indulgences viewed as applications of the merits of CHRIST and His Saints and of particular good works of the living for the benefit of the departed, no one can question that the Church, and even individuals, in some sense, can make such application, that is, can seek from God the benefit of those souls towards which the intention is directed.

If one speculates on the effect of remissions of excommunication or of penance on the departed, the Greeks will think that the former may sometimes have the effect of facilitating the due but suspended dissolution of the body, and that both may bring to the soul some comfort or remission "*τῶν κατεχόντων αὐτὴν ἀνιαρῶν*" as they think also of the general prayers and oblations of the Church on earth, and of the faithful living, with respect to the lower and more imperfect souls of those that may yet be saved. And the Latins will naturally express the same thought in the form of a remission of the pains of Purgatory. And thus far we need not suppose any irreconcilable difference of doctrine.

But here, to avoid popular misconception, it must be remarked that neither are the canonical years of penance which a sinner may reckon up, or try to reckon up, as due to his sins, to help himself to horror and compunction, necessarily actual years, nor are the Indulgences which are their correlatives literally or essentially connected with time, though they seem to be measured or expressed by it. The object of penance is perfect contrition, and the cleansing of the soul: and whether that object is at-

tained in a few days or weeks (as on the reading of the Apostle's letter and the excommunication of the incestuous Corinthian, and as was commonly the case in the earliest age of the Church when penance was in itself much sharper, but as measured by time much shorter than afterwards,) or in seven, ten, or twenty years, or by a whole life of public penance, (as in later ages when the Church was getting to be more mixed with the world,) it is one and the same thing. St. Paul was afraid even after a short time that the penitent might be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow. In later times the Church was not afraid by decreeing from one to thirty years' excommunication even for single sins that she should endanger the swallowing up of her penitents by overmuch sorrow. But in any particular case where the object seemed sooner to be obtained she left power to the Bishop to "*grant Indulgence,*" that is, to measure penance not by time but by its effect. And later still, when severity had been gradually stretched to the utmost, and had failed, and, iniquity abounding more and more, it became impossible to enforce, or to perform, or even to count the penances decreed, the Church reverted for her practical discipline in great measure to this simplest and deepest principle, that for fallen Christians true contrition and amendment is necessary for salvation. But in order to give some idea, however inadequate and figurative, of the difficulty of restoration, and the need of our utmost exertions, in proportion to the number and nature of our sins, she kept before the eyes of men those penances measured in days and years which she had used to curb vice, to inform the conscience, and to assist repentance, in former times before her discipline had been quite outstripped by the abounding of iniquity in the Christian world. An Indulgence then of so many days or years has reference not to any actual rotations of the earth on its axis or round the sun supposed to be sensible in the intermediate state, but to canonical years of penance: and canonical years of penance even on earth are only a form varying in different ages for giving some idea of the distinctions of sins and the difficulty of attaining perfect contrition. Nor, again, has an Indulgence reference only to such years of penance *as actually imposed*, but *as impossible*: nor has it reference in the case of its application to the dead to any duty of actually performing the years, if not

indulged, which is impossible, but to that essential residuum (whatever it be,) of such a bond which souls may have carried with them into the intermediate state. The measurement of this residuum by time, as regards the souls themselves, is a mere figure of speech, as if one said, "The bond of that Canonical penance which, if they were living on earth, and lived long enough, and did not merit an earlier indulgence, and the discipline of such and such a century was in force, they would have in strictness to perform for their sins." But the reason for retaining the varieties and distinctions of time in speaking of Indulgences is for the sake of the living, to work upon their minds by ideas which are definite, whereas a vague and general promise of "*some* remission or advantage" in proportion to their exertions, without specifying *how much* remission or *how much* exertion in each case, might be in danger of producing less effect.

Viewed thus, Indulgences may be considered as a sort of spiritual bonbons which the Church scatters to her children, with different values and different works marked upon them, in the hope of stirring them up more or less towards the great objects of attaining true contrition, and doing good works, and towards charitable intercession for the souls of others. And thus neither need we say that the essential doctrine involved in the Roman practice of granting Indulgences is false or inadmissible for the Greeks, nor that the motive of the Roman Church and the Popes in granting them is an evil one, whatever abuses may have attached to them.

Even in the sale of Indulgences itself, which was forbidden as an abuse by the Council of Trent, it is to be remembered that the essential conditions for gaining the Indulgence sold remained the same as in all other cases: "Whosoever being *really contrite* and in charity with all men, shall *devoutly* perform this or that religious act, or do this or that good work specified." There was no licence or indulgence for sin, as Protestants falsely suppose, no pardon granted beforehand for sins as yet uncommitted, or to impenitent sinners, but a commutation into money or some good work or service to the Cross and to religion of Ecclesiastical penances to persons who should have such dispositions, and do such acts as might justify a mitigation of penance even if no alms were given, or no such service performed. This might be

a very gross abuse, and no doubt was: as may be also the sale of very different Indulgences (to eat butter, eggs, &c., during the Fasts,) sometimes confounded with it. But it was a very different thing indeed from the enormous wickedness into which it was commonly exaggerated by the Protestants.

We may conclude then that even if the Roman Church refused to abate anything of her present doctrine and practice on the subject of Indulgences, even in deference to the wish of an Œcumenical Council, still there is nothing in either absolutely to prevent the Greeks from communicating with her.

On the other hand, the Easterns might perhaps hope that in a General Council this latest, and most artificial, and most easy to be misunderstood and abused of all Roman developments might be pruned somewhat, and the remissions and blessings of the Church, especially as applicable to the souls of the departed, reduced to some general form, the measurement by days and years, and the word "*plenary*" perhaps, being disused. At any rate, as the whole question is one not of doctrine, but of taste and discretion in the manner of moving men to good works and dispositions, the Easterns might, without any breach of unity, refuse to admit the use of Indulgences within their own jurisdiction; and if they were mistaken and Rome right in her practical judgment, the loss would be their own.

XII. *Of the Last Unction.*

As regards the Unction of the Sick, it is true that the Easterns have kept more exactly than the Latins to the primitive idea and practice, calling in not one Priest only but the "Priests" of the Church, that there may be united prayer, and regarding the whole act as a sacramental intercession to obtain healing, whereas the Latins (as the Eastern Divines sometimes object,) make it rather a preparation for expected death.

Nevertheless, as the Easterns do not seek to be Anointed on every trivial occasion but when they think themselves dangerously ill, and defer for the most part as long as possible to own that they are in danger, the common practice among them differs not much from that of the Latins. And as it has become a custom for all when they are manifestly in danger to send for the Priests to anoint them, and as the great majority of them

that so send and are so anointed, in compliance with the custom, are not "raised up again" to health of body in this life, but die, it is clear that ordinarily and for the majority of cases Christian faith and charity can only hope that at any rate the remains of sin (so far as sin is connected with disease and decay and death,) may through that solemn Intercession and Anointing be forgiven to the soul. And this is precisely the idea which is now put most prominently forward in the Latin Church.

And the Latins, on the other hand, by no means deny nor exclude that idea and purpose which seems to be predominant in the instruction given by St. James in his Epistle, and which still predominates in the doctrine of the Eastern Church. They teach that Extreme Unction sometimes (though rarely perhaps now,) obtains not only forgiveness for the remains of sin, but also a grace of bodily healing: and that it is not unlawful, if any one have the requisite faith, to desire to be anointed in order to obtain, if it so please God, even a bodily recovery. The doctrinal discordance then between the two Churches is by no means irreconcilable, but on this, as on many other points, consists merely in a difference of proportion.

As the name "*Extreme*" or "*Last Unction*," (which has sometimes been borrowed from the Latins by Greek and Russian divines,) is often misunderstood by Protestants, it may be remarked that the epithet "*Extreme*" or "*Last*" does not imply that the sick person must be at the point to die, or as they say *in extremis*, in order to be anointed, but it distinguishes the unction of the sick from other earlier unctions. For Christians are anointed with oil even before Baptism; and this is the *first* unction: and after Baptism they are anointed with the Holy Chrism; and with oil also on various occasions which need not here to be enumerated: and *lastly* when they are dangerously sick and thought to be drawing near to death, they are prayed over and anointed: and this, from its being relatively posterior to all the preceding, is called by the Latins the "*Extreme*" or "*Last Unction*." The Easterns call it the "*Oil of Prayer*," or the "*Meeting of the Priests over the Sick*;" (*Εὐχέλαιον* or *Συνόδευσις* in the Service Books of the Greeks, in those of the Slavonic people *Eleosvieshchénies* or *Soborovánie*.)

XIII. *Of the Celibacy of the Clergy.*

The law of celibacy imposed upon the Latin Clergy was already noted as a fault by the Council held at Constantinople in Trullo, A.D. 691, the canons of which the Easterns receive as oecumenical. But besides that these canons have never been so received in the West, this very same Council in Trullo enacted for the Easterns themselves a restriction similar in kind and differing only in extent from that imposed on the Latin Clergy. In direct contravention of earlier canons, or at least by a very violent wresting of them, (αἰχμαλωτίζουσα αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ καλῆτερον,) the Council in Trullo forbade Bishops for the future to live with their wives. And after themselves showing so plainly that they regarded the existing discipline on this subject as open to change, it was somewhat unreasonable in the Greeks to quarrel with the Latins because they had chosen to go a little further in the same direction, and to impose on Priests also and on Deacons the same restriction which the Council in Trullo imposed only on Bishops. The Easterns might indeed think this a dangerous experiment and inexpedient; but so long as they were not required to do the same, they could not deny to the Westerns that right which they had always exercised of using their own discretion and making canons of discipline for themselves. If indeed there had been any Churches in the West still retaining the earlier discipline, and the See of Rome had been invading their liberty and trying to force upon them its own custom, it would have been natural and not unjust for an Eastern Council to take their part. And some such Churches (of the Greek rite) there were, no doubt, on the coasts of southern Italy, and elsewhere, in the latter part of the eleventh century. But when we read of the Popes and Latin Bishops depriving the secular clergy of their wives, this has not ordinarily or chiefly respect to lawful wives married according to the liberty of the ancient discipline before Ordination, but either to mere concubines, or to wives married in despite of the canons of the universal Church after Ordination.

XIV. *Of the Latin Fasts.*

Another ground of quarrel against the Latins is their manner of fasting; that they observe the Saturday in every week, and

not the Wednesday; that they eat flesh up to the very beginning of Lent; and begin Lent itself on the Wednesday instead of the Monday; that their monks eat flesh; and that during the Fasts they allow the use of fish, milk, butter, cheese, eggs, and the like. But besides that these differences are mere matters of rite and custom, they are all much older than the division between the Churches. The weekly fast of the Wednesday and Friday may indeed have been universal in the very earliest times, but the custom of substituting the Saturday or Sabbath for the Wednesday is nevertheless of very remote antiquity at Rome, (having existed even in the fourth century,) and for ages it occasioned no complaint or schism. And though an œcumenical Council holden in the East may have forbidden Christians to fast on any Sabbath in the year, except one, the Great Sabbath, still no such Eastern canons of discipline, even though made by œcumenical Councils, were ever held to bind the West *proprio vigore*, that is, unless they were there formally admitted and received. And apart from the consideration of mere authority, the idea of preparing for the weekly festival of Our Lord's resurrection by a weekly imitation of the fast of the Great Friday and the Great Sabbath is no less pious and appropriate than the weekly observance of Wednesday as the day on which CHRIST was betrayed, and Friday as the day on which He was crucified; an observance which no doubt makes flesh-days and fasting-days to alternate at convenient intervals.

If we look to the strict requirements or recommendations of the Latin rite, the difference will be reduced within narrow limits. For on the one hand we shall find that the Latins have not absolutely dropped the observance of the Wednesdays. On the contrary at the Four Seasons (when they hold their Ordinations of Clergy,) during the season before Christmas called Advent, and at other times of extraordinary supplications, Wednesday is the day that they select to be added as a day of fasting or abstinence to the Friday and Saturday. And on the other hand the Easterns, celebrating the Liturgy on the Sabbath, and not eating till it is over, that is, till about the middle of the day, come very nearly up to the abstinence of the Latins, who eat fish and eggs and cheese and butter as early as at midday on the Sabbath, and so do not fast in the strict sense of the Easterns.

As for the time of leaving off meat, or beginning Lent, and for greater or less indulgences in point of diet during the fasts, such differences have existed from the beginning not only between the East and the West, but also between lesser particular Churches. And among the Latins themselves a particular Church, the Church of Milan, has preserved from very ancient times even to the present day the custom of leaving off flesh and beginning Lent some days later than the rest of the Western Churches, without any breach of charity on this account; though the other Westerns might more reasonably be offended at the particular of the Church of Milan so varying from themselves than the Easterns at a similar variation of the whole Western Church. And as for any abuse or relaxation in the West contrary not only to the Greek but even to the milder Latin rule, such as the sale of Indulgences in Spain and South America, the relaxation of fasting to Roman-Catholics living among Protestants or Infidels, as in England and in France, (where they are allowed by Dispensation to eat meat four days in the week even during Lent,) such concessions to the overbearing force of national or local custom, or to the spirit of the age, are not peculiar to the Latins. The Easterns also under similar circumstances neglect all or nearly all that is prescribed by their own discipline, and are not refused the Sacraments or put to any serious penance in consequence. The only difference is this: For the Westerns the Ecclesiastical authority itself condescends to the pressure of society, and yields much in order to retain something which it reserves, or at any rate in order to save the weaker sort from the certainty of sinning by disobedience to a law not absolutely essential, and to assist them that are of stronger faith towards obtaining from society some measure of toleration for obedience: whereas in the East, no modification by authority being admitted, the whole of the prescribed observances are in danger of being swept away together so soon as the torrent of social corruption comes in conflict with them. The educated and civilized Greek or Russian of the higher classes, from the moment that the custom in his own grade of society sets against the observance of the fasts of his Church, or that he finds himself living among Latins or Protestants, takes freely all those liberties and dispensations which are sometimes in-

dulged by authority to Latins, and a great deal more besides, without knowing where to stop, or having any distinct reason for stopping at all, when he has once ventured to grant dispensation to himself without any real necessity.

XV. *Of the free use of the Holy Scriptures.*

That there is some difference between the two Churches, in their spirit, that is, and in their tone towards the laity, on this subject cannot be denied. In the West there is a general assumption on the part of the enemies of the hierarchy and a disagreeable sort of consciousness among the people and clergy themselves that there is something in the letter of the sacred Scriptures, or at least in the free study and circulation of them, unfriendly to the existing system of doctrine and discipline. And in consequence there is observable in the hierarchy a total absence of zeal to promote the study of the sacred Scriptures, especially through translations. Among the Easterns on the contrary there is no such disagreeable feeling of divergence or opposition between the Scriptures and the Church, but whoever can is encouraged freely, and as a matter of course, to procure and study the Holy Books, whether in the original languages or in approved versions.

Yet neither here is there any very deep opposition between the teaching or discipline of the two Churches. The Latin Church has never discouraged any person that may be capable from procuring and studying the Scriptures in the original text, or in those ancient translations (such as the Septuagint and the Vulgate,) which have become as the original text for the Greeks and the Latins. On the other hand the Eastern Church has never encouraged Christians to buy or use those unauthorized translations which have been made by heretics, and which are circulated by them, often with corruptions and perverse interpretations, and always with the idea of insinuating some allowance or respect for their own spurious Christianity. And if the one Church (like the early Fathers,) dwells more on the general benefit of the knowledge and study of the Scriptures, while the other dwells more on the mischief to be apprehended from heretical versions, and from the study even of the genuine Scriptures with improper dispositions of mind, and therefore is indifferent or hostile to the multiplication of translations into living languages, this dif-

ference is perhaps no more than local and temporary, arising chiefly out of the peculiar circumstances of the West, which during the last three centuries have thrown the Latin Church into an unnatural and controversial attitude. And certainly, if anything were wanting to justify her, it would be found in the use made of the Bible by those who have rebelled against her authority, and in the results which have followed and which still follow daily from their use of it. Perceiving with the eyes of the spirit the strong and fierce devil that was entering into the Teutonic nations, and was tempting them to abuse the printing-press and the Scriptures to their hurt, the Roman Church might seem, and may still seem to superficial or prejudiced observers to direct against the Scriptures in themselves that hostility which is really directed against the evil spirit by whose hand and mouth they are abused. But if ever that smoke from the pit which now envelopes the West should be dispersed, and the sun of faith should shine out again, it is possible that the tone of the Roman Church respecting the free use of the Scriptures may undergo a great change.

XVI. *Of Church Services in a tongue no longer understood by the People.*

Reflections similar to the above may have place also with regard to that unwillingness which the Roman Church has shown to give to different nations the Services of Religion in their own spoken languages. The Eastern Church inclines the contrary way; and her divines sometimes extol her superiority over the Latin on this account. But the fault, if it be a fault, of adhering rigidly for ritual purposes to an antiquated or even to a dead language is by no means peculiar to the Latins. It is something far more general, and well nigh universal: so much so, as to suggest the idea that there may probably be some Divine economy in the permission that a custom so contrary to the spirit and practice of the primitive Christians as well as to reason and propriety should have become so generally and so permanently prevalent. The modern Greeks, the Russians Servians and Bulgarians, and the Georgians, of the Orthodox Communion, the Nestorians of Kurdistan, the Armenians, the Monophysites of Syria Persia and India, the Arab-Copts of Egypt, and the Abyssinians,

all have their worship and Church Books in dialects either absolutely unintelligible or only partially intelligible to the people. It is only in some exceptional cases (and that within the last century,) as in the adoption of the Wallachian or Romanian spoken language instead of the Slavonic in the Danubian Principalities, and in the translation of the Church Books into Turkish for some congregations which have forgotten Greek in Asia, and into Arabic in Syria, that the Eastern Orthodox Church has shown any disposition to accommodate Divine worship to the changing dialects of the people.

It is true indeed that the old Hellenic, the old Georgian, and the Slavonic languages are very far from being absolutely unintelligible to the modern Greeks, Georgians, or Russians, as Latin is absolutely unintelligible to the Teutonic or semi-Teutonic nations of the West, to the Latin Slavonians of Poland and Bohemia, and to the Magyars of Hungary. But these nations after all compose only a part, though an important part, of Western Christendom; and there is another large part consisting of nations, (such as the Italians and Sicilians, the Spaniards, and the Portuguese, with their colonies in South America,) in which the Latin language, though changed and blended with a Teutonic element, still predominates: and for these latter peoples the difference between the Church Latin and their own spoken or written language, is of the same kind (though greater,) as that which exists between the Hellenic of the Greek Ritual and the modern Romaic.

Perhaps as the general standard of Christian faith and charity sank lower, and the Church came to be more intimately blended with the world, it became in a secondary sense good for Christians that the full light of earlier and better times should be partially darkened or withdrawn: and that instead of being forced upon all to the greater condemnation of many, it should be half shown and half hidden, so as to be an incentive to exertion and a reward for them that have the grace to search for it to their greater profit.

And as for the West, though the historian Fleury may have wondered why Rome did not act by the nations of modern Europe in the spirit of the primitive Church, by giving to each, so soon at least as its language was well formed, the Scriptures

and the Services in its own tongue, it is easy to see that there were considerations of great force to forbid any such change. Even in first communicating Christianity to the Anglo-Saxons, the Germans, and other peoples in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries it had been thought best to attempt to draw them through the Church language into the Latin family, and to make some sacrifice of popular edification for the sake of consolidating more strongly the unity of the Church. And the allowance of their own language to the Slavonians of Moravia was no exception: for it was a concession to people who would not be refused, and not a voluntary boon. But when the nations and kingdoms of modern Europe were at length formed, and their languages fixed, the disturbing influences of their separate nationalities became so strong, that they could hardly be kept together in Ecclesiastical unity, even though they had all one and the same faith, Church law, and Ritual, and one common Clergy, with a language of its own, interpenetrating them all and concentrated in one common independent centre at Rome. Under such circumstances any change which should tend to strengthen still further the separate nationalities, and to divide and nationalize that common Clergy, which like the citizens of Old Rome being mixed everywhere with the Provincials bound the whole into unity, would be manifestly most dangerous: and exactly the same reasons which would move an heresiarch or a tyrant who wished to sin with impunity to introduce the use of the vulgar tongue for purposes of religion, to abolish the celibacy of the clergy, and to banish monks and friars, would weigh with Bishops and Popes to make them oppose or forbid such changes. Whether indeed under other circumstances, if nations and kingdoms had been heartily devoted to the Roman See and to religious unity, and had shown no tendencies to separation, Rome might have acted differently; or whether even yet at some future period, when nations and states, as such, shall have hopelessly and irrecoverably apostatized, and the remnant of sincere believers are everywhere and of necessity Ultramontanes, (if that is to be so, as some think,) Rome may still act differently, and encourage or even enjoin a freer use of the vernacular languages of each people in the services of religion,—are questions on which every one may speculate as he pleases.

XVII. *Of "Persecution."*

Greeks and Russians often enough inveigh against the persecuting spirit of the Church of Rome, and dwell upon the cruelties of the Inquisition, and upon certain well-known passages of history, with as much liveliness as the Protestants themselves : and they contrast these horrors with the mild and tolerant Christianity of their own Church. But here again on closer inspection the supposed difference will be found to vanish.

Far from being any invention of the Popes or of the Church of Rome, the practice of restraining heresy by civil penalties, and even by capital punishments, originated with the Christian Emperors of Constantinople, and was based upon principles of civil government universally recognized, and sanctioned both by natural reason and by Divine legislation. Among the Athenians, the most intelligent people of antiquity, it was made the ground of a capital accusation against Socrates, that he corrupted the youth by dishonouring the religion of the State and introducing new Gods : and Socrates, the wisest and best of Gentile sages, though he denied the charge, yet by no means denied that the punishment would be suitable if the charge were true. And among the Hebrews, if even a brother, or son, or daughter, or wife, or friend, were to entice any man, though it were secretly, to serve other Gods, he was not to be spared nor concealed, but the hand of the nearest relative was to be first upon him to stone him to death, and afterwards the hand of all the people. And if any city followed or harboured such innovators, that city was to be smitten with the sword and utterly destroyed, with all its people, their cattle and property, and burned, and made a heap for ever, and never to be rebuilt. Thus they were commanded to put away the abomination from among them, and to avert the fierce anger of the Lord. (*Deut. xiii.*)

Nor could this well have been otherwise, if any Government was to govern the whole man, the whole body politic, intelligently, with a view to its real good and happiness. If indeed any governor were a mere human animal, without any higher idea than that of material wellbeing, or if, while perceiving the possible importance of religion, he were unable to choose between conflicting creeds, or without power to influence his subjects, he would

necessarily in governing aim after only such inferior and partial wellbeing as lay within his knowledge and his power. But in proportion as any ruler, whether the father of a family, the master of a house, or the governor of a State, really believes any moral or religious truth, and perceives its importance, it is not only right but natural and inevitable that he should do all he can to favour, maintain, and promote such truth, and to exclude repress and extirpate all contrary error. When men speak or write as if they thought otherwise, their words only publish that they are themselves destitute of belief, or at least of power to promote their belief, or that they are inconvenienced by the existence of belief joined with power in others. Such are the clamorous outcries of Roman-Catholics (no less than of Protestants,) in countries where they are not dominant, and the popular praises of religious liberty and toleration in countries where Protestantism is strong as a negative principle, but in its positive forms lukewarm and divided.

But though the principle of "persecution" (as it is called,) is acted upon more or less (according to their power and discretion) by all governors so far as they have a belief, it is manifestly very liable to be misapplied by indiscreet zeal or evil passion. And such misapplication of it has at various times and in various countries occasioned many ineffectual and revolting cruelties, which have commonly rather strengthened the opinions they were intended to suppress, and have excited an infinite amount of misconception and abhorrence against the principle itself. In fact, the occasions really justifying the extreme application of this principle are of the very rarest occurrence. So rare are they, that one may almost say with truth that the infliction of capital penalties for offences against faith, though right and defensible in theory, is in practice mischievous and wrong. For it is not the duty of any and every government to burn, or even to imprison or fine, every heretic and schismatic whom it has the power to seize, nor under any or all circumstances: but only when the governor and his people are as yet united in the true faith, and the evil attacks them for the first time, so that it is possible by a few summary and capital punishments to destroy it in the bud or egg, (as in one female wasp in Spring the gardener may destroy a whole swarm,) and possible also by a striking severity

in the manner of the punishments to impress on men a just sense of the enormity of the crime, and of the mischief it threatens to society, and a salutary fear of what else (if tolerated, and recommended by any specious qualities in the heresiarchs,) might appear to simple people innocent or even attractive: and lastly, when all that charity and zeal can devise has been first tried by the ministers of religion to convert the heresiarch, and he remains obdurate. These conditions are clearly indicated by our SAVIOUR Himself in the parallel case of the severities enacted by the Mosaic law against sins of uncleanness, and in particular against the crime of adultery. For when they brought to Him a woman taken in adultery, and questioned Him, saying, "Master, Moses in the law commanded that such should be stoned; but what sayest Thou?" He taught them that the law indeed was good, and wise, and just, yet that it was not to be executed against offenders by people who were themselves guilty: that its purpose was not to authorize adulterers or idolaters to stone, or burn, or persecute one another, but to defend the people of God, while as yet pure from such sins, and united in faith and obedience, against the first assault and contagion of the most destructive evils.

So then, if there has been much and terrible misapplication of the principle of persecution in the West, this has been owing to the fault of particular rulers and governments, or of society in particular ages and countries, and under particular circumstances, not to anything false or evil in the principle itself, nor to the Church, which (as such) merely teaches princes the abstract truth that it is their duty to protect their subjects against heresy no less than against robbery or murder. Neither has persecution in the West been exercised only by Roman-Catholic rulers (in whom, being a duty, it involves no evil passion,) but equally by Protestants, in whom, being contrary to their ideas of justice, it is an inconsistent and odious atrocity. And if on the other hand there has been less heard of severities from Christian rulers in the Eastern Church, and less feeling excited on the subject, this has not been owing to any difference in the instructions she has given to kings as to the principle, but simply to a difference of circumstances. Nor have occasions been altogether wanting when "persecution" has been used in Eastern Christendom, and that too at the de-

mand of the Clergy. That the Greek Emperors of Constantinople punished heresy by death, and by burning, has been mentioned above: and in the History of the Russian Church, in her very infancy, a case is recorded which shows the Russians participating in the same views. A Monophysite of Armenian origin, who had devoted himself for many years with singular patience and industry to sowing the seeds of a subtle and imaginative heresy which was to unite the Greek and the Latin rites under the Monophysite Creed, after once recanting before a Synod of Bishops at Kieff, having relapsed, and remaining obdurate, was at length remitted to Constantinople, as a subject of the Greek Empire, to be dealt with according to its laws. And this man, after having been again in vain exhorted by the Greek Clergy, was burned alive. And about the end of the fifteenth century, under the Grand Prince John III. of Moscow, when a deistical heresy of Jewish origin had infected numbers of the Clergy, and some of the chief servants and favourites of the Sovereign, (if not the Sovereign himself,) and had the Primate of the Church, whose name was Zozimus, among its adherents, a simple monk, Joseph the Hegoumen of Volokolamsk, by his letters and exhortations roused the sounder part of the Hierarchy, forced the assembling of a Synod, and procured the condemnation of the heresy, the deposition of the heterodox Primate, and the election of another who was orthodox. And when the Judaizers evaded all tests by readily anathematizing their own heresies, while they held and taught them all the same, he demanded, as the only remaining resource, that they should be put down by the civil power; and actually forced the Grand Prince to give up his own Secretary, together with others, to be burned in the public place at Moscow. It is true that the zeal of this Hegoumen Joseph and his arguments (arguments which he enforced by the example of the King of Spain, whose persecution of the Jews was then noised in Russia,) met with great opposition, especially from the heretics themselves and their favourers. These naturally enough contended that the only arms to be employed against religious error were the arms of meekness and persuasion; and that nothing could be more unchristian than for the civil governor to use, or for the Clergy to suggest, persecution. Many well-intentioned moderate men, who saw not the

real nature of the emergency, added strength to such remonstrances. But the Hegoumen carried his point. Persecution was used. A most formidable heresy, one of the most subtle and evasive that has ever appeared, which had taken deep root, was spreading rapidly, had great worldly and even ecclesiastical advantages on its side, and seemed unassailable by ordinary spiritual arms, was cut short, and after a time extirpated by persecution. And the monk who effected this is celebrated to this day in consequence as a Saint of the Russian Church.

XVIII. *Of the Existence of reputed Saints and Miracles in both Communions.*

At present the Latins commonly make light of those Greek Saints who have lived since the breach between the Churches, and the Greeks make light of the Latin Saints who have lived since the same time. So too the Latins reject Greek miracles and Greek Icons, and the Greeks reject those of the Latins. But this on both sides is merely in consequence of the division: and the existence on both sides of reputed Saints and miracles, far from being an impediment, is really rather an assistance towards reunion. According to the terms of the Council of Florence the Greeks would have continued to honour all their Saints who had lived since the separation, and the Latins would have continued to honour theirs. And even if it were supposed that the Greek Church were schismatical and the Latin Church heretical, still in the opinion of the most enlightened theologians it would by no means follow that sanctity and miracles might not exist in those Churches. For though in *wilful* schismatics or heretics they could not be supposed to exist, yet in individuals and generations which should be *only materially* in schism or heresy, and excusable by what the Latins call invincible ignorance, sanctity and miracles might exist to any extent. And so not only of the Greek, but even of the Nestorian and Monophysite Churches, it may be admitted by Roman Divines that perhaps they have produced Saints, and may have witnessed true miracles. But much more if, as we have been supposing, both the Greek and the Latin Churches are parts of the true Catholic Church, is it reasonable, and agreeable to our theory, that they should both have continued to produce reputed Saints and

miracles since the time of their estrangement in the ninth or in the eleventh century to the present day.

One class of reputed Saints and miracles however there is, which are really obstacles rather than assistances to union: that is, when any reputed Saint or miracle is connected with the division itself, and even seems to have been magnified (by the one side or the other,) for the sake of the division. Thus, though it may be admitted that *Photius*, *Gregory Palamas*, and *Mark of Ephesus* were great and learned men, and that they defended the orthodox phraseology, they will not be magnified into *Saints* except by such as wish to make of them three beams or wedges of bitterness to keep open the wounds of the Church.

Neither does the existence on both sides of a vast mass of popular legends and superstitions, and of excesses and abuses connected with the Invocation of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, and with the worship of Images and Pictures, and of Relics, offer any hindrance to unity, though now the Greeks on the one side and the Latins on the other seem often to be very free (as free as the Protestants themselves,) in blaming and rejecting, and even in ridiculing, these faults in their rivals. Rather, the general similarity of the two Communion in these respects would offer great facilities: and if no other hindrances stood in the way of peace, they would accept or tolerate one another's kindred superstitions just as readily as they now reject them. Whereas, on the other hand, even if the Anglican Communion were plainly one with the Greek in all articles of faith, there would still be no small difficulty in the way of a solid practical union arising from the uncongeniality of the dominant feeling in the two Communion with regard to what is commonly called superstition, a weakness (so far as it is a weakness,) natural to man, and nowhere catalogued among the deadly sins, nor forbidden by any one of the ten Commandments.

XIX. *Of Immutability and Novelty, as characteristic of the two Churches respectively.*

A greater appearance of difficulty there is in the reconciliation of the stereotyped antiquarianism of the Greek Rite, preserving exactly the same usages, with the developments and apparent distortions of idea and practice which characterize the

present Latin Rite. The Greek Rite is like a plant or building which, though covered with dust and somewhat shrunk, preserves all its original shape and proportions: the Latin on the contrary is so changed that it is rather like a new building, constructed in part out of the ruins of the old. Various important parts of the old are suppressed, others thrown into the shade: things which did not exist, or which were unimportant once, have been brought forward: many ancient channels of grace and edification have become dry, while fresh ones have been opened. Instead of one daily public Liturgy on one altar in the church, and the Bishop con-celebrating with the body of his Clergy, we now see multiplied altars, and each Priest saying his own separate Mass. Then there is the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, not for the sick, but to furnish a local bodily presence of CHRIST dwelling in and sanctifying the building of the church, with all the train of applications and devotions which follow from this, the Visitation of the Blessed Sacrament, with meditation and adoration before it, &c. Again, the peculiar systematized devotions to the Blessed Virgin, with the facts and doctrines on which they are partly based, and other like things, which occupy at the present day so large a place in Roman-Catholic religion, but which were totally unknown to the ancients. Some doctrinal points, having been already treated separately, need not to be here mentioned over again.

The general aspect is this: on the Western side apparent novelties, errors, and abuses, (it may be,) with manifest life and energy; on the Greek or Eastern side apparent preservation of the ancient type of ritual and proportion of doctrine with formalism and coldness. So that, if unity were to be restored, we must suppose either that the Latin life, leaving its new and distorted channels, would return to run in the older channels of the Easterns, while the Easterns, preserving what they have already, would gain an increase of life from union with the Latins; or else that there is some real connection between the life and the novelties on the one side, and between the antiquarianism and the coldness on the other; and, in that case, that the Greeks after their reunion with the West would probably begin to innovate, and to admit among themselves those Latin developments and changes of proportion which they now reject and condemn.

And if we suppose this latter case, and that in a number of lesser particulars the Eastern Church discovered a real connection to exist between spiritual life and the changes of the Latins, she would have strong grounds for extending the same principle so as to accept also upon it, and *as developments*, the two great doctrines of the "Double Procession" and the Papal Supremacy: which would imply the complete reversal of those proportions of relative superiority and inferiority which we have hitherto been assuming to exist between the theology and ritual of the two Churches. And this leads to another subject, which shall be treated in a separate Section.

DISSERTATION IX.

OF THE BEARING OF THE THEORY OF DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT ON THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE ORTHODOX AND THE ROMAN-CATHOLIC CHURCHES.

THE general practice of Roman-Catholic writers has been to defend all the existing doctrines of their Church, and (on the most important points) her discipline also and ritual, on the ground of tradition, either written or oral, preserved uninterruptedly from the beginning. Enslaved to this theory they have too often interpolated and corrupted the text of ancient authors, denied or explained away their plain meaning, and given a false colouring to Ecclesiastical history.

The Easterns meanwhile, the Anglicans, and the Protestants, seeing a plain discrepancy on many important points between the modern Roman-Catholic Church and the Catholic Church of earlier times, and considering the efforts of Roman-Catholics to deny, or dissemble, or account for such a discrepancy to be unsuccessful, or even dishonest, have been used to strengthen themselves in their conviction that the Latin Church is in the wrong, and that they themselves (though this does not at all follow,) are in the right.

Recently a man of the greatest genius and learning and piety, who had long endeavoured to defend the Anglican Church but had found it indefensible, being attracted by many considerations towards Rome, has attempted in an elaborate essay not only to account for the discrepancy existing between the modern Roman and the ancient Church, but even to turn this very discrepancy itself into an argument in favour of the Roman Communion. This he does by means of a certain theory of development, according to which the Church has power not only to enlarge her

definitions of the faith by the denial of new heresies, but also to expand the faith itself by the addition of fresh positive truths the knowledge of which may have grown upon her with time from Scriptural, logical, and supernatural sources, and even to contradict, it may be, on some points the confused or erroneous conceptions of earlier ages. Thus the "Double Procession" of the HOLY SPIRIT may have been utterly unknown; the Papal Supremacy may have existed only as a dormant seed, an undefined consciousness in the local Roman Church; the doctrine of the propriety of invoking Saints or worshipping Images may have been the one unknown, the other denied; the dominant language on the subject of the state of the departed may have been inconsistent with the doctrine of Purgatory; and there may have been no other Indulgences in existence but remissions of canonical penance; the doctrine of Transubstantiation, so far as the distinction of substance and accidents was concerned, may have been an open question; the Unction of the Sick may have been used chiefly for the sake of their recovery; the early history of the Blessed Virgin and the notion of her Assumption in the body may have been taken from apocryphal writings, and the Fathers may have supposed that she was conceived, like the rest of mankind, with original sin: and yet, with all this, the modern Roman doctrine may be on all these points, by development, the true and necessary consequence, supplement, or correction of the primitive belief.

Without attempting to explain at length, or to pursue further into details this theory, which may be studied, by such at least as can read English or French, in Dr. Newman's own work, a few words only shall be said of its bearing upon the controversy between the Eastern and the Latin Churches.

The Eastern Church by her general character of immobility, her fixed antiquarianism even in ritual, and especially by her denial of the "Double Procession," and of the doctrines of Papal Supremacy, Purgatory, and Indulgences, on the express ground of their having been unknown to antiquity, seems to declare against the doctrine of positive development in point of faith. These very words, "*Our Church knows no developments*:" were often used twenty years ago by a late Metropolitan of St. Petersburg in speaking of the addition made by the

Latins to the Creed. On the other hand, by her doctrines concerning the Invocation of Saints, and the Worship of Icons she seems to many to have admitted the principle. "These Greeks" (said an Anglican clergyman, long resident in Russia, to the writer,) "seem to think that the *Faith* is like a great plant, which came to its full *growth* only at the time of the Seventh Council." And if so, one does not see why other doctrinal developments, such as those of the Double Procession, the Papal Supremacy, Purgatory, and Indulgences, &c., may not be true, and to be accepted, just as much as the doctrines concerning the Invocation of Saints and the Worship of Icons, which can no more be defended than the others on the ground of original, explicit, and unbroken tradition.

In truth the Eastern Church cannot remain for ever a stranger to such intellectual questions and their consequences. And if she does indeed maintain already *as doctrines of faith* two articles which can be defended *as such* only on the ground of development, she must prepare herself to re-examine other articles which she has hitherto rejected, and to see whether they may not be admissible on the same ground. Or else, if she still persists in denying those articles, and with them the principle of development on which they *now* claim to rest, she must find some other tenable ground on which to rest her own doctrines concerning the Invocation of Saints and the Worship of Icons: as, for instance, if she were distinctly to teach that these are *not doctrines of the faith* properly so called at all, but only secondary opinions or doctrines rightly decreed and enforced by the Church respecting practical usage and ritual.

Members of the Eastern Church will sometimes seem to hesitate between these two alternatives, and will say that as for the doctrines of the Procession of the HOLY GHOST from the SON, Purgatory, and Indulgences, if they were defined or developed by a General Council, as the doctrine of the Worship of Icons has been defined, they would admit them as a matter of course: but that they cannot admit the Papal Supremacy as defining and developing either these or any other doctrines, or as acting and ruling of itself and independently, apart from and even contrary to the decrees of former General Councils. But, if the principle of development be admitted at all, one does not see

how any individual or any local Church can set limits to its operation, or dictate to the Spirit which animates the Church and throws up her successive developments that developments shall bud and shoot forth only through the meetings and decrees of General Councils. Who can say that the constitution and government itself of the Church, no less than her doctrine and ritual, may not be the subjects of development? and that the same Spirit which at one time spoke and ruled chiefly through Saints and Fathers, through local and General Councils, may not in later ages speak and rule chiefly through one central Chair and Oracle, that is through the person of St. Peter's successor at Rome? The principle of development being granted, this may very well be : and all that Christians can do is to judge as well as they can whether the moral, spiritual, and reasonable signs in favour of this or that asserted development are such as they may safely go upon in accepting it.

Of course, so long as Rome seems to maintain her former antiquarian attitude towards the Eastern Church, and to dictate to her for acceptance her own modern additions or changes either with unreasoning violence or on the untenable ground of continuous tradition, the Eastern Church may not feel herself obliged (though she ought to be ready to try and judge all doctrine if she is really superior,) to examine closely what appears as yet only as a tolerated theory or school within the Roman Communion. But a time will probably come when this theory, the consequences of which are too vast and important to allow of its being held in abeyance, will either be plainly and generally maintained, or rejected and condemned. If indeed it should be rejected within the Roman Communion, the Eastern Church will have no cause to examine a theory of which she thinks herself to have no real need, and which is rejected even by those who do manifestly need it. But if it ever comes to be received and carried out fairly to its consequences in the Roman Communion, it will involve such a change of attitude and aspect in that Communion towards the Eastern, as will make it absolutely necessary for the Easterns to consider it with attention. For it will be no longer the same thing to reject the novelties of Roman-Catholicism when proposed on new grounds and in a new temper, as it has been hitherto to reject them when proposed on

grounds manifestly false, and with a temper and spirit not likely to make those false grounds attractive.

Supposing then the theory of development to be received in the Roman Communion, the future language of that Communion to the Easterns will probably be something like this: "The Church, though infallible in essentials, yet suffers to an extent which it is difficult to limit by the sins and imperfections of her members, by those of nations as well as of individuals, by those of particular hierarchies and Churches, and even of the Papacy itself, as well as by those of laymen. In the long-standing schism between the Greeks and the Latins, the Roman See and the Eastern Patriarchates, it may be confessed that besides jealousies connected with races of men and political governments, with hierarchical jurisdiction, and with ritual customs, there has been also one very deep cause of misunderstanding which has never yet been properly or sufficiently acknowledged; that is, the ignorance on both sides of the principle and law of development; an ignorance which made us Latins, even if we were intrinsically in the right in what we sought to teach or to impose upon the whole Church, to be outwardly and apparently in the wrong, and you Greeks, even if you were intrinsically wrong in rejecting our Latin novelties, to be outwardly and apparently in the right; that is, according to the principle then held in common on both sides, that every doctrine ought to be proved by explicit and continuous tradition, and that whatever could not so be proved ought to be rejected. For the past therefore we are willing that there should be a complete amnesty. Far from calling you heretics or schismatics any longer, we confess that, if the principle of unchangeableness formerly received on both sides had been true, you would have been all along the orthodox and we the heretics or schismatics; for you alone have acted consistently with that principle throughout, and we were acting inconsistently with our own generally-received principles when we would have forced upon you what was new. And though we now think that the principle of unchangeableness formerly held on all sides was in fact erroneous, and that we, though wrong as to the grounds on which we rested and enforced our novelties, were yet right in the things themselves, we are willing to take upon ourselves the whole blame of the schism

for the past: and for the future we demand only that forgetting and dismissing from your minds all the misdirected violence and hostility we have shown against you, and all our ineffectual and sometimes perhaps dishonest attempts to demonstrate our doctrines to have been delivered by universal tradition from the beginning, you will now consider impartially and attentively the new grounds upon which we rest the same doctrines, and the doctrines themselves in the new aspect and bearing which they will have as based upon these new grounds. And if you should be able, upon sufficient consideration, to come to such a conclusion as we desire, then the unity of the whole Church, East and West, Greek and Latin, will be thereby restored at once; and some changes will be desired and adopted by yourselves which we shall regard as great improvements, and which will open to you fresh springs of spiritual grace and life, from which you are now shut out not so much by any fault of your own as by *our* past faults towards you, and by a mistake or ignorance common to us both. Thus the Procession of the HOLY SPIRIT from the SON, the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy, the doctrines of Purgatory and Indulgences, and of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, which you now deny or doubt, (and rightly upon that older theory of explicit tradition which was commonly received in times past,) will cease to be objectionable to you. Varieties of discipline and ritual such as the permission of Baptism by one immersion, or even by affusion, the restriction of Confirmation to the Bishop, the postponement of that Sacrament and of the First Communion of children till they have learned the Catechism, the use of Azymes in the Eucharist, the Consecration (in the same) by the recital of CHRIST's words of Institution and not by any direct invocation of the HOLY GHOST, the giving of the Holy Communion under one kind only to the laity, and many other like things, will cease to be any cause of offence, or may rather afford matter of instruction and edification, and occasion for the exercise of mutual respect and charity: while other customs which you now rightly reject as innovations, distortions, or changes and destructions of the ancient religion, such as the multiplication of altars and Masses instead of the former con-celebration of one public Liturgy, the use of the Blessed Sacrament for visitation and meditation, the carrying of

It abroad in processions, the multiplied varieties of religious Orders, and especially the more intelligent and more systematized devotion to the Blessed Virgin, will change their aspect, and will appear in the light of most desirable springs of spiritual moisture ready to irrigate and fertilize the venerable but parched and dried forms of your Church."

Such, we may suppose, will be the language of Roman divines at no very distant day to the Eastern, and especially to the Russian Church: the first preparation for which must be a re-examination of the question of the *Filioque*, and an attempt to explain historically and to justify theologically the gradual development of the Latin doctrine, till it was defined in the Council of Florence. If this can be done satisfactorily, (the whole rubbish of former polemics on the subject being given up and swept away,) the application of the same principle of development afterwards to all other points of difference, and even to that of the Supremacy, will be easy, and will follow of itself. If this be not done, or cannot be done satisfactorily, the Churches will remain in their former attitude, and wait till the almighty providence of God, by the outward changes of the world and its empires, and of visible Christianity, puts a clear end to their controversy.

DISSERTATION X.

ON THE CONTROVERSY RESPECTING THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY GHOST.

THE following may serve as a short exposition of the main scholastical argument, as it is viewed by the two contrary sides :

The Latins seem to say that the unity of the Godhead is distinguished into Persons, and the Persons are distinguished one from another *only* by the *direct relative opposition* of causing and being caused, such as is implied in the names of the Persons themselves, thus :—

“He who begets cannot, *so far*, be He who is begotten ; nor *vice versâ* : but *in all other respects* He who is begotten is identical with Him who begets. Also, He who makes to proceed cannot, *so far*, be He who is made to proceed ; nor *vice versâ* : but in all other respects He who is made to proceed is identical with Him who makes to proceed. And *therefore*, as it seems,

“He who is made to proceed by Him that begets must necessarily Himself also have this property of begetting, (since there is no apparent relative opposition between the terms being ‘*made to proceed*’ and ‘*begetting*’ :) and He who is begotten by Him who makes to proceed must necessarily Himself also have this property of making to proceed, (since there is no apparent relative opposition between the terms ‘*begotten*’ and ‘*making to proceed*.’) Or, in other words, it seems that

“The FATHER and the SPIRIT together and equally (whether *as* two Persons or rather as one common principle and substance,) beget the SON ; and the FATHER and the SON together and equally (whether *as* two Persons or rather as one common principle and substance,) make to proceed the HOLY GHOST. The consequence is equally necessary in both cases.

“But thus the SPIRIT causes the SON, and is reciprocally caused by the SON, propositions which are mutually destructive the one of the other. Wherefore, although both these propositions seem to follow with equal necessity, according to what has been said above, it is plain that one (*at least*) of them must be false. And it is admitted on all hands that the SPIRIT does not beget the SON. But by that principle which was laid down first of all one of these same two propositions must be true, otherwise there would be no direct relative opposition to distinguish the SON and the SPIRIT the one from the other. Therefore it must be the SON who makes to proceed the SPIRIT. And thus we have between all the three Persons that distinction of direct relative opposition which is requisite.”

The Easterns on the other hand say that “If indeed the primary assumption of the Latins were true, that there must be a direct relative opposition, of causing and being caused, to distinguish any two of the Persons the one from the other, then, it being admitted, as they say, on all hands that the SPIRIT does not cause the SON, it would of course remain that the SON must cause the SPIRIT. But the first principle itself of the Latins is an arbitrary and false assumption. The unity of the Divine Essence is distinguished into Persons, and the Persons are distinguished one from another, *not only* by direct relative opposition of causing and being caused: but the SON and the SPIRIT are distinguished the one from the other as Persons in another way:

“The FATHER indeed *is*, no doubt, distinguished both from the SON and from the SPIRIT, and they both in common from the FATHER, by direct relative opposition of causing and being caused: and the Easterns say in common with the Latins that

“He who begets cannot, *so far*, be He who is begotten; nor *vice versd*: and He who is made to proceed cannot, *so far*, be He who makes to proceed; nor *vice versd*. But of the mutual distinction between the SON and the SPIRIT the Easterns reason after the following manner:

“He who is begotten is not, *so far*, He who is made to proceed; nor *vice versd*. Or again: He who is caused or originated so as to be *second in order*, immediately, is not, *so far*, the same with Him who is caused or originated (*μετὰ, post, διὰ*,

per.) intermediately, after the second, so as to be *third in order*; nor *vice versâ*." And then they conclude that

"That Person which is begotten by another Person who makes to proceed cannot, *so far*, be Himself the Person doing that same numerical act of making to proceed. Nor can that Person which is made to proceed by another Person who begets be, *so far*, Himself the Person so begetting. So that it is equally impossible that either the SPIRIT together with the FATHER should beget the SON, or the SON together with the FATHER make to proceed the SPIRIT.

"For the truth is that both to beget and to make to proceed are equally *personal* properties of the First Person in the TRINITY, the sole unoriginated cause, that is, of the FATHER. And if it be attempted to conclude otherwise from the unity of the Divine essence, because the terms '*begotten*' and '*made to proceed*' do not seem of themselves by any relative opposition to exclude the properties of '*making to proceed*' or of '*begetting*' respectively, the two consequences which follow from this attempt, and which are in truth both equally necessary, equally destroy one another, and by so destroying one another reveal the falsity of that assumption from which they followed."

Thus, to sum up, as to the distinction of the Persons the Easterns say:

"He who begets is distinguished from Him who is begotten, and He who makes to proceed from Him who is made to proceed, *doubly*; first, by a common and general relative opposition between that which causes and that which is caused; and secondly, by a particular and special relation in the *manner* of the causation; that is, in the first case by *generation*, in the second by *procession*.

"And again: He who is begotten is distinguished from Him who is made to proceed *not* by any direct relative opposition in the names or properties of those Persons themselves, but only by a difference in the manner of their causation from, and in their relative order (of priority or posteriority,) to their one common Originator. Being from one and the same, they are *therefore* identical in their essence with Him and with one another: but they are distinguished one from the other as Persons by the manner of their causation: so that, as has been said already, He

who is begotten cannot be He who is made to proceed, nor He that is made to proceed be He that is begotten : and He that is *second* in relative order, or next after the *first*, cannot be He that is *third* ; nor vice versâ."

As for the Latins, on this point they seem to the Easterns to begin by assuming arbitrarily what is false, and afterwards to reason only from their own assumption. They seem too (at least if any still with St. Anselm admit generation and procession to differ in themselves,) to leave after all for the HOLY GHOST that very same inequality to avoid which in respect of the SON they first attributed to the SON the causation of the SPIRIT. For after all the SPIRIT (notwithstanding the unity of the Divine essence,) will be destitute of a certain property of the FATHER (that of begetting,) *besides* that of making to proceed through which alone He is distinguished by way of direct relative opposition from the FATHER. And He will also be destitute of a certain property of the SON (that of being begotten,) besides that of making to proceed through which alone He is distinguished by way of direct relative opposition from the SON no less than from the FATHER.

Again, another difficulty which they think follows from the Latin way of reasoning on this subject is the following : One Deity, according to the Latins, introverting upon itself and introverted, is said to beget and to be begotten : the same Deity a second time (not in time but in order) introverting upon itself and introverted, is said to make to proceed and to be made to proceed ; the only difference between begetting in the first case and making to proceed in the second being this, that begetting is causing simply, while making to proceed is causing the second time ; with the addition, that is, of the idea of posteriority to a similar anterior causation. The word *person* then is *properly* a relative term *between two*. The first causation divides or distinguishes what is otherwise one absolute undistinguishable unity into the causing and the caused, FATHER and SON, two Persons ; and exactly in the same way that Deity which is (except as to causing and having been caused,) one absolute undistinguishable unity (in the FATHER and the SON,) is by a second causation distinguished into the causing and the caused, the ONE COMMON PRINCIPLE and the HOLY GHOST, two Persons,

as it should seem, and FATHER and SON also (even though this language be not used,) equally with the former Two, that is, with the FATHER and the SON; if indeed the ideas and definitions of "*person*" and "*father*" be constituted only by relative opposition in respect of causation. However, for the Easterns all such impossible scholastic disquisitions are mere profaneness.

But without entering at present into any further detail on the subject of this deep controversy, there shall be subjoined here a brief collection of such modes of expression concerning the Procession as seem to be used or implied by the Fathers:

In speaking of the First Person of the Blessed Trinity:

The FATHER I. breathes, or causes, or makes to proceed the HOLY GHOST: and that II. by a *personal* property, in like manner as it is by a personal property that He begets the SON. III. He so produces the HOLY GHOST in order (not in time,) *after* the SON. And by this procession He communicates his whole essence, all that He is, (except only his *personal* attributes,) to the HOLY GHOST, in like manner as by generation He communicates the same whole essence, all that He is, (except only his *personal* properties,) to the SON. And, seeing that the SON is *second in order*, He communicates to the HOLY GHOST that same Divine essence which is now already common to the SON with Himself.

In speaking of the Second Person:

The SON I. being begotten by the Person of the FATHER, and from His substance, receives *second in order* all that the FATHER is (except only His *personal* properties). II. He possesses as his own, not as *communicated* to Him, but as originally inherent in Him (on account of his consubstantiality with the FATHER, and on account of his being at the same time *second in order*), the HOLY SPIRIT, who receives all that the FATHER is (except only His *personal* properties,) *third in order*. [III. He might be said perhaps, *improperly*, and *indirectly*, to give his own essence to the SPIRIT on account of his consubstantiality with the FATHER; *inasmuch as* the Person of the FATHER, which properly gives, gives to the HOLY SPIRIT that essence which is now already common to the SON with Himself, and numerically

one in Both.] So the SON, being God of God, '*sends*' not only 'from the FATHER' but also 'from Himself upon Himself,' after the Incarnation, in the Jordan, 'His own co-eternal SPIRIT'; His SPIRIT 'not received from without, but naturally inherent in Himself, and naturally flowing forth from Him.'

In speaking of the Third Person :

I. The HOLY GHOST *proceeds* I. 'From GOD;' that is, from the FATHER as a Person, or in respect of his personality: II. 'From the FATHER:' III. 'From the FATHER only:' IV. 'From the Person of the FATHER only:' V. 'Not from the SON;' (that is, 'not from the SON, but from the FATHER:') VI. 'Not from the SON;' that is, 'not from the *Person* of the SON:') VII. 'Not from Himself:' that is, 'not from his own *Person*.'

II. The HOLY GHOST *proceeds* I. 'From the essence of GOD;' that is, 'of the FATHER:' II. 'From the essence of the FATHER:' III. 'From the essence of the FATHER now already common to the SON:' IV. 'From the essence of the FATHER and the SON:' V. 'From the essence of the SON, *because* from *that* essence of the FATHER which is the SON's.'

III. The HOLY GHOST *receives* : I. 'He receives from the FATHER the essence of the FATHER,' that is, of GOD : II. 'He receives from the FATHER that essence of the FATHER which is now already also the SON's:' III. 'He receives from the FATHER the essence of the FATHER and the SON:' IV. 'He receives from the FATHER the essence of the SON, *because* He receives that essence which is one and the same in the SON and in the FATHER:' V. 'He receives *of, from, or out of* (*e vel de,*) the FATHER and the SON;' that is, 'He receives *of, from, or out of their common Divine essence*:' VI. 'He receives *of, from, or out of the SON,*' (*e vel de Filio,*) *because* He receives *of, from, or out of the FATHER*.

IV. The HOLY GHOST *is* I. 'Of the FATHER's essence;' (*Patris essentie* :) II. 'Of the essence of the FATHER and the SON:' III. 'Of the essence of GOD:' IV. 'Of the SON's essence.' Again, He *is* I. 'From or out of the FATHER (*e vel de Patre,*) in respect of his essence:' II. 'From or out of the SON in respect of his essence, *because* He is from or out of the FATHER:' III. 'From or out of the FATHER and the SON in respect of his essence, *because* it is now one and the same essence numerically in Both.'

V. He '*proceeds indeed from the FATHER,*' I. '*But is proper to the SON:*' II. '*But is not foreign to the SON:*' III. '*But receives of the SON's, and of the SON:*' IV. '*But is sent by the SON.*' Or again, I. He '*is from all eternity the SPIRIT of the SON, no less than of the FATHER:*' II. He '*is not communicated to the SON, but is originally, naturally, and inherently the SON's:*' III. He '*receives from the SON Himself,*' that is, from the substance of the SON, and not, like the creatures, from His fulness: IV. He '*is sent:*' and this *mission* implies something like authority in the Sender; (that is, priority of relative order.)

Four abusive but orthodox applications of the word Procession :

VI. If the words '*to proceed*' and '*procession*' be used *equivocally*, (to speak with the logicians,) it may be said,

I. That the HOLY GHOST '*proceeds from the FATHER and the SON;*' that is, from *the FATHER only* with respect to that *Person* or *personality* which is the *cause*; but from the SON also in respect of that common essence of Deity (common, that is, to the SON, and numerically one in the FATHER and the SON,) which He receives from the *Person of the FATHER* as the cause.

II. Again, if the word '*procession*' be used *equivocally* in another way, it may be said that He '*proceeds from the FATHER and the SON*' thus: namely, from *the FATHER only in respect of His own personality or origin as a Person*, but from the SON also *in respect of His essence considered apart*, (or improperly.)

III. Again, the same being said in either of the two above ways, or in both at once, the use of the word '*procession*' may be made still more *equivocal* by including *further* under it the *idea of temporal mission*; as was the case in most of the passages alleged and arguments adduced on the Latin side at the beginning of the ninth century.

IV. Or, lastly, the HOLY GHOST may be said to '*proceed from the FATHER and the SON*' *confusedly*, that is, both in respect of *the consubstantiality of His Divine essence* (which *being in Him third in order* is of or from the one common essence of the FATHER and the SON,) *by an eternal procession*, (the true and proper sense of the word '*procession*' to denote *origin as a person from a personal cause* being thus *dropped altogether*;) and also, in respect of *mission*, by a *procession in time*.

But if the procession from the SON be asserted in any other sense than in one of these four, there will be in the Holy TRINITY something besides the three distinct Persons and the one common Essence, namely the peculiarly common Essence of the FATHER and the SON. Or, if one numerical act be ascribed to two Persons *as such*, it seems that either two Persons are confounded together into one, or they act as two distinct principles.

In speaking of the Divine Essence :

The Godhead or Divine nature considered in itself abstractedly, that is *improperly*, and irrespectively of the personal properties in it, may be said to be a *Monad* which doubles Itself without ceasing to be numerically one undivided God; and which again, after thus doubling Itself, triples Itself, still without ceasing to be as before one undivided God. But in truth and fact it is not an *abstract Divine nature* (that is, a *mere mental conception* presupposing the idea of a plurality of *persons*,) which either produces the *Duad* by *generation*, or the *Triad* by *procession*: but if we would speak *truly* and *correctly*, the FATHER *as a Person* is the Monad, which by begetting one only SON doubles Itself, and by emitting one only SPIRIT, after or through the SON, triples Itself. (“*Μόνας εἰς δύαδα κινηθεῖσα μὲχρι τριάδος ἔσται.*”)

As the result of all that has been set forth above, we may give the following amplification of the article in the Creed :

“We believe that the FATHER begets the SON *before in order* (not in time); and *after*, (*post*, μετὰ,) the SON being already begotten and interposed, (*genito jam et mediante*,) *by* or *through* the SON (ἐκ, per,) produces the HOLY GHOST from that same His own Divine Essence which is now *already* common also to the SON, and numerically one in both the FATHER and the SON: And that therefore the HOLY GHOST ‘*proceeds*’ *indeed from the Person of the FATHER only* in respect of *His causation*, but ‘*is*’ from the *common substance of the FATHER and the SON*, or, which is the same thing, ‘*is*’ ‘*from the FATHER and the SON*,’ or, ‘*from that essence which is the SON’s also*,’ or ‘*from the SON, in respect of His Essence*, as the joint consequence of His consubstantiality and posteriority of order:’ For in that He ‘*receives*’ from GOD and the FATHER *third in order*, He *thereby*

'receives' *also from the SON*, and is the proper SPIRIT of the SON no less than of the FATHER; proper, that is, *not by 'gift or communication,'* but because of the SON's being begotten *intermediately, second in order*; proper, *not* as coming to Him from without, but as originally and naturally inherent; even as a man contains within himself and breathes forth his own breath. But that the SPIRIT conversely or reciprocally is produced 'in order before' the SON, and the SON 'after' or 'through' the SPIRIT, so that the SPIRIT also should be 'intermediate,' (*mediate Spiritu,*) or that the eternal SON 'receives of the SPIRIT,' or 'is the SON of the SPIRIT,' or 'is the SPIRIT's own,' in the same relative sense in which the SPIRIT, on account of His posteriority of order, is the 'SPIRIT of the SON,' and 'the SON's own,' (and beyond the mutual inherence or *circumincession* of all the Three Persons in virtue of consubstantiality apart from order,) we by no means say or allow."

Such an exposition, supposing the Creed to be restored to its Canonical form, might be accepted perhaps by the Easterns as an interpretation of the clause *Filioque* occurring in any other documents or writings of the Westerns, as, for instance, in Article v. of the XXXIX. Articles of the Anglican Church:

"The HOLY GHOST proceeding from the FATHER," (that is, from *the Person of the FATHER only,*) "and from the SON," (that is, from *that substance of the FATHER which is now already common to the SON, and numerically one in both* :) &c.

This would be giving to the words objected to the same interpretation now as was given to them in the name of all the Latins (some of whom had already used them,) and after inquiry into their meaning at Rome, by St. Maximus the Martyr towards the end of the seventh century, when they were first noticed and objected to by the Greeks.

CHAPTER XI.

CERTAIN OPINIONS PREVALENT IN THE GREEK PART OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH RESPECTING BAPTISM.

Of Baptism administered by Heretics or Schismatics.

I. BAPTISM administered by heretics or schismatics is from the nature of the thing itself no Baptism, and neither does confer, nor can confer regeneration.

II. Nevertheless the Church can, if she pleases, allow as Baptism that which is no Baptism, and receive as if they had been regenerated those who have not been regenerated, (that is, persons Baptized by heretics,) by condescendence or economy.

III. Canons xlv. xlvii. lxviii. of the LXXXV. called the Canons of the Apostles, ordering all persons Baptized invalidly by heretics (τοὺς ἀβαπτιστως βαπτισθέντας) on coming over to orthodoxy to be Baptized, did not before A. D. 381, or before A. D. 691, represent merely the local tradition of certain Churches in Asia and elsewhere, contrary to the local tradition of the Roman and other Western Churches, and never received by them, but were really decrees of the united company of the Apostles, and the source of a tradition coextensive with the whole Church.

IV. St. Cyprian the Martyr and the three Synods held by him at Carthage in the third century (A. D. 255, 258,) in decreeing all persons Baptized by heretics or schismatics to be unbaptized did not base this decree on logical inference from the holy Scriptures supported only by the local tradition of the Asiatic and some other Churches but contrary to the local tradition of Africa, Rome, and the West, but upon an immuta-

ble law laid down by the Apostles themselves in their Canons, and upon the uniform tradition of the œcumenical Church, Western as well as Eastern, from the beginning.

V. Canons viii. of the First and vii. of the Second Œcumenical Councils, decreeing that heretics of six different sects, namely, Arians, Macedonians, Sabbatians, Novatians, Quartodecimans, and Apollinarists, are to be received with their Baptism on coming over to orthodoxy, neither did reverse nor could reverse the decree of the Apostles themselves that both these and all other heretics are necessarily unbaptized and unregenerated, and need to be Baptized; nor did they permanently interpret and limit the application of Canons xli. xlvii. lxviii. of the Apostles so that for the future the Baptism of such heretics as the above (of such, that is, as though thinking amiss of the TRINITY preserved in Baptizing the outward invocation of the three Persons and the customary three immersions,) should be admitted, but that of all other heretics should be regarded as invalid. But rather Canons viii. of the First and vii. of the Second Œcumenical Councils introduced in respect of the six above-mentioned heresies, and none other, an extraordinary and exceptional economy or condescension, contrary to the strict truth and law of the Church, whether in Rome or in Asia, and not necessarily to be followed as a precedent: and this for temporary reasons of convenience, danger, or necessity.

VI. And whereas Canon vii. of the Second Œcumenical Council continues thus, “*Εὐνομιανούς μέντοι τοὺς εἰς μίαν κατά-δυσιν βαπτιζομένους [δηλαδή, εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Χριστοῦ,] καὶ Μοντανιστὰς καὶ Σαβελλιανούς, τοὺς υἱοπατορίαν διδάσκοντας, [Canon xix. of the First Œcumenical Council decrees the same of the Paulianists:] κ.τ.λ. καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας αἱρέσεις, ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα, μάλιστα οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλατῶν χώρας ὁρμώμενοι, πάντας ὡς Ἑλληνας . . . βαπτίζομεν*” this latter part of the Canon is not to be understood of all such other heretics *only* as were then actually known in the regions near Constantinople, and differed from the six sects named before in this, that they did not like them preserve in Baptizing the outward invocation of the three Persons and the customary three immersions: but the words “*τὰς ἄλλας πάσας αἱρέσεις βαπτίζομεν*” are to be taken in their literal and widest sense, as both attesting the preexisting principle

and usage of the whole Church, in the West no less than in the East, and confirming the same for the future in respect of all possible and future heresies, at whatever time and in whatever regions they should arise.

VII. The Canons of the Synod held at Constantinople in Trullo A.D. 691, and commonly called the *Πενθέκτη* or Sixth Œcumenical; (it being regarded as a continuation of the Sixth,) are all really of œcumenical authority, and bind the whole Church, the Roman and Western no less than the Eastern.

VIII. Canon ii. of the Council in Trullo decreeing thus: “*Ἐδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῇ ἀγίᾳ ταύτῃ συνόδῳ κάλλιστά τε καὶ σπουδαιότατα ὥστε μένειν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν βεβαίους καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς πρὸς ψυχῶν θεραπείαν καὶ ἰατρείαν παθῶν τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀγίων καὶ μακαρίων πατέρων δεχθέντας καὶ κυρωθέντας, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ παραδοθέντας ἡμῖν ὀνόματι τῶν ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων πρὸς κανόνας,*” recognises Canons xlv. xlvii. lxviii. of that collection as decrees of the Apostles themselves, and as of universal obligation; and, even if this had not been so previously, would have given them such universal force for the future, so as to overturn any contrary local custom or tradition of the Roman or other Western Churches.

IX. In like manner the same Canon of the Council in Trullo receiving the Canons of certain particular Fathers, as SS. Dionysius of Alexandria, Gregory of Neocæsarea, Peter of Alexandria, Athanasius the Great, Basil the Great, Gregory Nyssene, Gregory Theologus, Amphilochius of Iconium, Timothy of Alexandria, Gennadius of Constantinople, and especially “*τὸν ὑπὸ Κυπριανοῦ γενομένου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς Ἀφρῶν χώρας καὶ Μάρτυρος καὶ τῆς καθ’ αὐτὸν Συνόδου ἐκτεθέντα κανόνα, ὃς ἐν τοῖς προειρημένων Προέδρων τόποις καὶ μόνον κατὰ τὸ παραδοθὲν αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἐκράτησε*” confirmed the doctrine of the inherent and necessary invalidity of all Baptisms administered by heretics, and the practice of repeating all such Baptisms (except in certain specified cases where economy was to be used,) as obligatory upon the whole Church, Roman and Western no less than Eastern, any contrary custom or tradition notwithstanding.

X. The opinion that the Roman and Western custom of receiving heretics and schismatics in general by Imposition of Hands, without rebaptizing them merely on account of their having been Baptized in heresy or schism, contrary to the judgment of St. Cyprian and his three African Synods, and to the

tradition of the Asiatic Churches, and to the judgment of the Synod of Iconium presided over by Firmilian A.D. 258, was based only on an exceptional economy is justified by Ecclesiastical history, and by the confession of the Romans themselves: and this opinion being expressed by St. Basil in the first of his Canons, which became œcumenical by being received by the Council in Trullo, has ever since the year A.D. 691 been the judgment of the whole Church, Western as well as Eastern.

XI. And whereas Canon xc. of the Council in Trullo, after reciting and confirming Canons xix. of the First and vii. of the Second Œcumenical Councils in that sense which has been explained above under heads V. and VI., seems to enlarge the list of those heresies the Baptisms of which were to be allowed without repetition, this also is to be considered as done on the same principle of a special exceptional economy, at variance with the strictness of the œcumenical law.

XII. Canons li. and lxvi. of the Synod of Carthage held A.D. 421, ordering children Baptized by the Donatist heretics to be received by Imposition of Hands, (“τάξει ἀρχαία διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῆς χειρὸς ἀναδεχθῆναι,”) and Canons lxxii. and lxxvii. of the same Synod allowing the reception of the Donatist Clergy in Africa with their existing Orders, and so implying also the allowance of their Baptism, are to be understood as allowing the reception without Baptism of such children and such Clergy only by a special economy: or, if the Synod of Carthage itself meant otherwise, and the decisions of St. Cyprian and his Synods had then (as some say was the case,) been abrogated in Africa, still it was in this sense only that the Council held in Trullo A.D. 691 approved these Canons, and gave them œcumenical authority, “αἰχμαλωτίζουσα,” that is, “straining” these also as well as some others “into conformity with the truth of CHRIST.”

XIII. The Seventh Œcumenical Council acknowledged and confirmed as œcumenical the Canons of the Council held in Trullo A.D. 691, and so also all that they expressly or by implication decreed: wherefore on this ground also the Roman and other Western Churches, having received the Seventh General Council, were bound to receive and to obey this Apostolical tradition and decree, that Baptism conferred by heretics or schismatics is essentially invalid, and that persons so Baptized “ἀβαπτίστως” have need to be Baptized by the Orthodox Church.

Of Baptism administered by Deacons or lay people.

XIV. As a layman cannot Offer, or Absolve, or Ordain, or make the Chrism, so neither can he Baptize : nor is it true that the Apostles and the Bishops their successors, in like manner as they were divinely instructed to reserve to themselves alone the power of Ordaining and of making the Chrism, but to communicate to the Presbyters the power of Offering and Absolving, so also could communicate and did communicate not only to the Presbyters but to the inferior Clergy also, and even to the laity, the commission to Baptize as assistants to themselves in cases where such assistance was needed.

XV. Baptism administered with water which has not been consecrated by a Priest, and transmuted into that water which flowed from the pierced side of CHRIST, is no Baptism, (unless it be of water only, like that of the Forerunner,) nor does it confer regeneration.

XVI. Baptism with water which has not had oil poured upon it by a Priest in the form of a cross is no Baptism, nor does it confer regeneration.

XVII. Canons xxvi. xxvii. of the Council of Laodicea which are of œcumenical authority, and other similar canons giving the administration of Baptism only to Bishops and Priests, are not to be understood only of the ordinary public administration of that Sacrament according to the full ritual of the Church, but in the strictest and most absolute sense, so as to declare all other Baptisms administered by Deacons or others to be no real Baptisms, nor to confer regeneration.

XVIII. Baptism administered by lay people being declared by Canons xlvii. lxviii. of the Apostles, and by Canon i. of St. Basil (made œcumenical by the Council in Trullo,) as also by St. Dionysius of Alexandria, and by Canon xxiv. of John the Faster, to be no Baptism, this is the immutable tradition and law of the whole Church, against which neither any sentences of particular Fathers, nor any contrary tradition or usage of the Roman or Western Church can have any force.

XIX. Although the abovementioned Canons, and Canons xxvi. xxvii. of Laodicea, allowing that baptism only as valid which is administered by a Bishop or Priest, may have been re-

laxed even in the East by some local Canons allowing Deacons also in cases of necessity to Baptize, and though the usage and tradition of the West may have allowed Deacons to Baptize even publicly in the absence of the Priest, still such relaxation is not to be understood as a permission to Deacons to administer lawfully what even if administered by them without permission unlawfully would still be Baptism, but rather as an exceptional economy permitting them to administer and taking when administered as Baptism that which in strictness and of itself is no Baptism.

XX. And whatever may be thought of the case of Deacons, not even the œcumenical Church after the Apostles either could extend or did extend to lay people the permission to Baptize, except by some such economy: and if the tradition and usage of the Roman or any other Western Churches was in favour of giving permission absolutely, the Baptisms so administered by laymen were necessarily nullities, and might rightly be repeated.

XXI. Such passages as the following from Tertullian, "*Dandi quidem Baptismum habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est Episcopus: dehinc Presbyteri et Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate. . . . Alioquin etiam laicis jus est, (quod enim ex æquo accipitur ex æquo dari potest,) . . . quum urget circumstantia periclitantis;*" etc. (*De Baptismo, cap. 17.*) And the following from the Canons of Nicephorus the Confessor, Patriarch of Constantinople, (A.D. 815,) "*Κατὰ ἀνάγκην καὶ μοναχὸς ἰδιώτης καὶ ἀνέρος βαπτίζει παιδίον, ὁμοίως καὶ Διάκονος*" and "*Τὰ ἀβάπτιστα νήπια, ὅταν δὲν εἶναι παρὼν Ἱερεὺς, πρέπει νὰ τὰ βαπτίξῃ ὅποιος τύχῃ, καὶ ὁ ἴδιος πατὴρ αὐτῶν, ἢ ἄλλος οἰοσδήποτε ἄνθρωπος, μόνον νὰ εἶναι Χριστιανὸς, καὶ δὲν ἀμαρτάνει*" do not represent the general tradition and custom of the Western and Eastern Churches in the second and ninth centuries, but are either simply erroneous, (And therefore, perhaps, those two canons of Nicephorus have been omitted from the later MSS. of the Holy Mountain,) or else are to be understood as only permitting by economy the administration of a Baptism which is in itself no Baptism, and which, if the person so Baptized lives, it is proper to repeat.

XXII. Even supposing Baptisms administered by Deacons or lay people with the permission of the Church were valid, and

therefore not to be repeated, still Baptism improperly administered by Deacons or laymen without such permission of the Church, and even of the Greek Church, not only subjects those so improperly Baptizing to punishment, but is in itself null and void, and neither can be nor ought to be received by the Church ; but all persons so Baptized have need to be rebaptized.

XXIII. Deacons and laymen being essentially incompetent to make the sacramental Body and Blood of CHRIST, it would be a sacrilege for them to imitate the celebration of the Liturgy, and to give a Eucharist which would be no Eucharist to any dying man when no Priest nor validly consecrated Eucharist could be had. But though Deacons and laymen are equally incompetent to Baptize, it is a pious and allowable custom for them to imitate the celebration of Baptism and to baptize ἀβαπτίστως persons in danger of death, when no Priest can be had. And persons so Baptized, if they die, may be sung, and offered for, and commemorated, as if they had really been Baptized : but if they recover they are to be Baptized, not conditionally (to remedy any doubt which may have arisen,) but absolutely, their former Baptism being declared undoubtingly to have been no Sacrament of regeneration.

Of Baptizing otherwise than by Trine Immersion.

XXIV. Baptism administered by one immersion only, or by affusion, or by sprinkling, or in any other way than by trine immersion, although it be certain that the water touched the person Baptized and that the Three Persons of the Holy TRINITY were, outwardly at least, rightly invoked, is not Baptism ; nor does it confer the grace of regeneration.

XXV. Such Baptisms as the above, *though not Baptisms in themselves*, yet in cases of necessity allowed as such by the Greeks, or by economy or condescendence of the Greek Church, may be allowed as if they were really Baptisms, and when so allowed may be supposed to have conferred regeneration.

XXVI. Though it may be true of all other Sacraments that their existence depends not on any will or discretion of the Church, nor on any recognition of necessity, nor on economy or condescendence, but on the presence of certain things required by CHRIST'S institution, yet in the case of the Sacrament of Bap-

tism this is not so. Thus bread and wine, and a Priest, and the explicit or virtual invocation of the HOLY GHOST, being necessary by the Divine institution for making the sacramental Body and Blood of CHRIST, if any of these things be absent, not even the whole Church has power, on any plea of necessity or economy, to make that to be CHRIST's Body and Blood, or to regard that as CHRIST's Body and Blood, which is not really so. But in the Sacrament of Baptism immersion, and trine immersion, being necessary by the Divine institution for conferring the grace of regeneration, the Church can nevertheless, even if these things be absent, on the ground of necessity or economy, make that to be Baptism, or regard that as Baptism, which is not really such.

XXVII. While the definition, or as the schoolmen speak the matter and form, of all other Sacraments is fixed and invariable, that of Baptism is twofold and variable, the matter of it being primarily and absolutely trine immersion, (that is, when it does not please the Church, or rather the *Greek Church*, to allow of any exception,) but also exceptionally (when it pleases the Church, or the *Greek Church*, to allow a plea of necessity or economy,) by one affusion, or by three affusions or aspersions.

XXVIII. Canons xlix. and l. of those called the Canons of the Apostles are really laws enacted by the twelve Apostles themselves, and have ever bound the whole Church from the beginning: besides which, even if it were otherwise, the Council held in Trullo, A. D. 691, having received them, and being itself received by the West, would have given them œcumenical authority. And these Canons ordering that "if any Bishop or Priest μὴ βαπτίσου εἰς Πατέρα, καὶ Τὸν, καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα," κ. τ. λ., or "μὴ τρία βαπτίσματα μιᾷς μυστήσεως ἐπιτελέσῃ, ἀλλὰ ἐν βάπτισμα τὸ εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου διδόμενον, καθαιρέσθω" imply that all Baptisms whatsoever which should at any time be administered otherwise than by immersion, and trine immersion, although the Three Persons may be rightly invoked, and the Baptism be not like that of the early heretics described as "τὸ εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου διδόμενον," are necessarily mere nullities.

XXIX. Canon vii. of the Second Œcumenical Council ordering that the Baptisms of Eunomians, who being aliens from the Church, and thinking heretically of the TRINITY, rejected

[both the invocation of the Three Persons and] trine immersion, and Baptized by one immersion into the death of CHRIST to symbolize their opposition to orthodoxy, should be regarded as nullities, decreed virtually that the Baptisms of those also who being within the Church, and thinking rightly of the TRINITY, and rightly invoking the Three Persons, and *not* rejecting trine immersion, should at any time Baptize with one immersion not into the death of CHRIST but into the name of the Holy TRINITY, to symbolize the unity of the Divine Essence against heretics who from the use of three separate immersions inferred three separate essences, should equally be regarded as nullities.

XXX. The same Canon allowing the Baptism of seven sects of heretics which, though retaining the outward invocation of the Three Persons and the customary three immersions corresponding to them, yet thought amiss of the TRINITY, by no means left it free to the Church of future ages to allow the Baptism of certain of her own Bishops who, though both using aright the outward invocation of the Three Persons and retaining inwardly the orthodox faith corresponding thereto, yet dispensed with the customary form of trine immersion, and Baptized either by one immersion, or by affusion or sprinkling.

XXXI. Though Pope Gregory the Great, called *Dialogus*, who lived long after the second Œcumenical Council and was not ignorant of its decrees, (nor of Canons xlix. and l. of those called the Canons of the Apostles,) supposed the two cases contrasted under the last preceding number to be quite distinct, and consequently that Canon vii. of the Second Œcumenical Council, and Canon l. of those ascribed to the Apostles were inapplicable to the case of such Baptisms by one immersion as were practised by some Catholics in Spain in his time and sanctioned by the local Council of Toledo, Gregory *Dialogus* was wrong; and those Baptisms were necessarily mere nullities.

XXXII. When Pope Gregory *Dialogus* writes that the Baptism of certain early heretics “οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος; ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ μιᾷ καταδύσει κοινῶς ἀπεδοκιμάσθη καὶ ἀπεβλήθη ὑπὸ τῆς δυτικῆς Ἐκκλησίας,” (as it was also by the Eastern both in the Canons of the Œcumenical Councils and in those earlier Canons ascribed to the Apostles,) it is to be collected that the Latin Church, by

some Synodal act alluded to, had absolutely condemned as nullities all Baptisms by one immersion, under whatever circumstances and with however orthodox a sense they should be administered, though Pope Gregory expressly asserts the contrary.

XXXIII. When the same Pope Gregory Dialogus writes “ὅτι μετὰ ταῦτα δι’ ἀμαρτημάτων τινων ἀναβαπτίζοντων ἐν τῇ Τολετάνῃ Συνόδῳ ἐψηφίσθη εἰς μίαν κατὰδυσιν γίνεσθαι· ἀλλὰ παυσαμένης τῆς τοιαύτης παρανομίας κοινῶς παρατετήρηται ἡ τρίτη ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι κατὰδυσις,” a similar conclusion is to be drawn, namely, that the Latin Church synodically declared such Baptism as had been permitted by the Synod of Toledo to be a nullity.

XXXIV. Although St. Cyprian (who rejected as null the Baptisms of heretics and schismatics,) testifies that the Catholic Church of the third century regarded the Baptism of clinics by aspersion or affusion as valid, writing thus, “*Nec quemquam movere debet quod aspergi vel perfundi videntur ægri cum gratiam Dominicam consequuntur*,” and that such persons, if they live, are on no account to be rebaptized; and though other similar testimonies are to be found in other Fathers, it is yet certain that all such Baptisms are essentially null, so that it is lawful and better, if the persons so Baptized live, to Baptize them. And if such Baptisms were ever allowed, this fact must be explained either thus, that the Church by economy and condescension allowed as Baptism what was no Baptism, and men as regenerate whom she knew to be not regenerate; or thus, that the non-allowance or allowance of necessity by the Church, or by the Greek Church, constitutes the *matter* of the Sacrament, rather than either trine immersion or affusion or aspersion in themselves.

XXXV. The Synod held at Constantinople A.D. 1484, after the Council of Florence, (as also an earlier Synod after the expulsion of the Latins from Constantinople in 1260,) decreed the reception of Latin proselytes by Chrism without rebaptism only from an economy based upon fear of their power, the Latin Baptisms being then really nullities.

XXXVI. The above mentioned Synods held after the year 1260, and in A.D. 1484, decreed the reception of Latins by Chrism only because the Latin Church had not *then* as yet universally adopted the custom of aspersion or affusion. But

the Latins have changed their ritual in respect of Baptism, and have become worse than they were before, since the year of our LORD 1484, or rather since 1667 ; (for then the Greek Patriarchs abolished in Russia the custom of rebaptizing Latins, and introduced there instead their own rule for receiving them with Chrism ;) or rather, that we may correct ourselves again, since A.D. 1723, when the custom of receiving Western proselytes by Chrism only was confirmed for Russia by the Patriarch of Constantinople Jeremiah III. even in the case of Lutherans and Calvinists. And the present rule of the Greek Church to rebaptize or Baptize all Westerns, which was introduced by an *"Opos"* put forth in A.D. 1756, and signed by three Patriarchs, is based upon and justified by the change which the Latins have made in their manner of Baptizing since the dates of the earlier Greek decrees now set aside.

XXXVII. So long as the Latins Baptized generally by *affusion*, the Easterns allowed economically their Baptism, though irregular: but since the year 1484, 1667, or 1723 they have changed their ritual and substituted sprinkling for affusion: and *on this account* the Greeks changed their practice in the year 1756: and on the same account they continue to Baptize Latins to the present day. [This is only a particular opinion, not generally held, and sufficiently refuted by the *"Opos"* itself and by the book intitled "*Στηλίτευσις τοῦ Παντισμοῦ*" put forth by the Patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 1756.]

XXXVIII. The Latins in point of fact allow and practise Baptism by sprinkling.

XXXIX. Latin Baptism is invalid because the Priest, instead of saying "*The servant of God N. is Baptized,*" &c., says "*N. I Baptize thee,*" &c.

XL. Persons Baptized by one immersion, or by affusion, or by sprinkling, with a correct invocation of the three Persons of the Holy TRINITY are neither Baptized nor unbaptized, neither regenerate nor unregenerate, but in a middle state, half Baptized and regenerate and half not ; so as to be capable by the will of the Church, or of the Greek Church, and by her allowance or denial of necessity or economy, of being either perfected into the state of the new-born, or thrust back into the state of the unregenerate. [This is only an opinion of individuals.]

XLI. Though the œcumenical Church may have used economy so as from fear or condescension to receive as if Baptized “*τοὺς ἀβαπτίστους βαπτισθίντας ὑπὸ Ἀρειανῶν*,” and other heretics who preserved the outward invocation of the TRINITY and the three immersions without the inward faith corresponding thereto, the Greek or Eastern Church ought not to use, and will not use, a similar economy in receiving persons Baptized by the Latins who with the outward invocation of the three Persons preserve also the inward faith corresponding thereto, but presume without any sickness or necessity allowed by the Greeks to Baptize in that compendious manner by trine affusion which was permitted by the early Church only in cases of sickness or urgent haste, as in times of persecution.

XLII. The present custom of the Russian Church in receiving Western proselytes who are really unbaptized without Baptizing them is merely an abuse owing to the overbearing influence of the Civil Power, or an economy and condescension contrary to the law and tradition of the whole Church, and not defended on principle even by the Russians themselves.

XLIII. Though it be true that in a mixed Synod of Greek, Russian, Georgian, Servian, and Wallachian Bishops held at Moscow A.D. 1666, 1667, the Greek Patriarchs, who presided, abrogated the canon of an earlier local Russian Synod in favour of re-baptizing Latins, and enacted in its stead that for the future the Russian Church should conform to the contrary practice established by Greek Synods held at Constantinople in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, the decree of this Synod of Moscow is of no force against an *Όρος* put forth afterwards in the year 1756 at Constantinople with the signatures of three Patriarchs (though without any act of a Council,) or against a book intitled “*Στηλίτευσις Παντισμοῦ*” approved by the then Patriarch of Constantinople and published by him together with the above-mentioned *Όρος*; as in the name of the Church of CHRIST. But both the mixed Synod held at Moscow in 1666, 1667, and those earlier Greek Synods (held after 1260 and in 1484,) which it followed and confirmed, were abrogated and reversed by the *Όρος* in question; and now the Russian Church ought to conform to the said *Όρος* and to the present practice of the Greeks.

XLIV. The Latins or other Westerns Baptized by affusion or

sprinkling, and received annually by the Russian Church with Chrism only by thousands, are all really unregenerate and unbaptized. In particular, the Empress of Russia herself, and all the consorts of the Imperial family (whom the Greeks *economically* style Most Orthodox and Most Religious,) and the 150,000 or 200,000 proselytes from Lutheranism received within the last ten years in the Baltic Provinces, are all still unbaptized persons, whom the Russian Church knowingly and deliberately and directly, (and the Greek Church no less knowingly and deliberately, though indirectly, through the Russians,) by an economy of dissimulation treats as Baptized Christians, and gives to them the Body and Blood of CHRIST.

XLV. While the Russians thus, under the influence of the civil Power, or by voluntary economy and condescension, treat publicly multitudes of unbaptized persons as Orthodox Christians, and give to them the Body and Blood of CHRIST, it is allowable for the Greek Church, by economy and condescension, to dissemble with the Russian Church, and to receive herself also as orthodox Christians and feed with the Body and Blood of CHRIST all such unbaptized persons as have previously been received by the Russians : and this not only in cases of unknown persons, without examining them particularly so as to ascertain whether they have been validly Baptized or no, but also in other cases where the persons are previously known, and where it is notorious that they have never been Baptized by trine immersion.

XLVI. It is right and allowable for Greek Bishops to instruct a Western proselyte that he is unbaptized and unregenerate, and to require of him to seek from God not conditionally only but absolutely and undoubtingly the grace of regeneration ; and yet to tell him at the same time that if he comes to them after having first been received by the Russians without rebaptism, they, the same Bishops, will then at once receive him as if he were Baptized and regenerate, though they know him to be unbaptized, and will give him the Body and Blood of CHRIST and all other privileges of an Orthodox Christian.

XLVII. Supposing it to be granted that the Ancient Church varied from herself in respect of Baptism, at one time admitting, at another rejecting, or in certain parts admitting, in certain

other parts rejecting heretical Baptism, or lay baptism, or compendious Baptism (like that of clinics,) without trine immersion, and that the divine grace of the Sacrament was given or withheld according to the varying will and decision either of the whole Church, or of particular Churches in union with the whole, there is now an equal presumption that the divine grace follows the will and decision of the separated Eastern Church against the Latin, (or rather of the *Greek* Church against both the Latin and the Russian,) as there was of old that the same grace varied with the will and sentence of the united œcumenical Church, or of local Churches which were in unity with the rest, and which did not either separate themselves or pretend to be alone the whole Body.

XLVIII. Perhaps it might be possible to reconcile the practice of the Greek and Russian Churches, if the Greek, would reason thus: "Neither we Greeks nor the Russians are alone the whole Catholic, or Orthodox, or even Eastern Church, but only local parts of it: and no local part Baptizes in its own name, but in the name of the *whole* Church: nor can any local part rightly or truly impute to the whole what is only its own local sense contrary to the sense of other parts. The Greek Church therefore in receiving Western proselytes in the name of the whole Orthodox Church, cannot rightly represent the whole Orthodox Church as asserting positively of them that they are unbaptized: for the Orthodox Church, *as a whole*, asserts no such thing: as a whole, whatever she may do hereafter, she at present *doubts*: for that man or society which at once asserts and denies the same thing, or at one time or place asserts and at another time or place denies, is said to be uncertain and to *doubt*. And the Orthodox Church at present asserts of Western proselytes through the local Greek Church that they are unbaptized, and need Baptism, but through the local Russian Church that they are already regenerated and need only Chrism. The Greek Church therefore, in receiving Western proselytes in the name of the *whole* Orthodox Church, will for the future (until the question shall be cleared up by some joint Synod,) refrain from ascribing to the whole Church what is only her own particular and local opinion, and will rebaptize such proselytes *only conditionally*, that is, either slightly varying the

Form in Baptizing as was directed for doubtful cases in the Office-book edited by Peter Mogila at Kieff in the seventeenth century, thus, "The servant of God N., *if he be not already Baptized*, is Baptized," &c. : or declaring that the usual Form, although unchanged, is used, and is allowed to be taken and understood, in a conditional sense, as in the case of infants and others of whom it is not known whether they have been Baptized or no. For such infants the Canons order simply "to be Baptized;" and yet certainly without any intention of repeating Baptism, if in point of fact it has already been validly administered.

Nevertheless this is a course which the Greek Church cannot rightly or will not adopt, because she is not merely a part, but she is herself the whole, and has a right to Baptize in her own name, and to impute in Baptizing her own opinion to the whole Church : and the Russian Church, if she differs from the Greek, is nothing : and the Greek is not obliged either to confer with the Russian, so as to remove the difference and obtain one consentient doctrine and practice for the future, nor, until this be done, to consider her own judgment to fall short of being œcumenical in consequence of the opposition of the Russian Church.

The main source of most of the opinions enumerated in the preceding series is the book of Eustratius Argentes intitled "*Στηλίτευσις τοῦ 'Ραντισμοῦ*," which was printed by the Patriarch Cyril of Constantinople, in 1756, in the name of "the Church of CHRIST," with a Constitution appended for carrying out its principles in practice. A translation of the Constitution shall be given below in Chapter XIII. There is also in the modern "*Πηδάλιον*" of the monks Agapius and Nicodemus, as revised and published by order of the Patriarchal Synod at Constantinople, a very long note (from p. 29 to p. 36, of the Athens edition of 1841,) on Canons xli. and xlvii. of the Apostles, the arguments of which are all taken from the book of Eustratius Argentes. And this note is now no doubt the immediate source of the opinions prevalent among the Greek Clergy.

CHAPTER XII.

TRANSLATION OF A MEMORIAL PRESENTED TO THE PATRIARCH
OF CONSTANTINOPLE, KYR KYR ANTHIMUS, JULY THE
24TH, N. S. 1851.

“H^{AVING} failed (as appears by the accompanying documents,) to obtain from the Scottish or other British Bishops any disavowal of proselytes who have renounced Orthodoxy and joined themselves in the name of heresy to the Anglican Communion, and finding himself besides, in common with others, oppressed within the Anglican Communion by a majority of heterodox, careless, or weak members, who have either willingly allowed, or ineffectually combated, the pretension of the Civil Government to decide all questions of doctrine and discipline; and, more particularly, have submitted to a recent decision of that Government to the effect that the doctrine of the regeneration of infants in holy Baptism is for the Anglican Church an open question, on which any man may hold and teach either the affirmative or the negative without becoming liable to rejection from her Communion :

“And believing from his heart the Catholic faith of the Creed of Nice and Constantinople, as defined by the seven Œcumenical Councils, or (to name a more recent document,) as explained in the ‘Longer Catechism of the Orthodox Catholic Church’ printed in Greek at Odessa not many years back, and translated from the Russian, the writer is desirous of being admitted to the Communion of the Orthodox and Catholic Church.

“But seeing now some apparent difference between the Russian and the Greek churches as to the manner in which any proselyte from Western Communities is to be received, and not being willing to be received only by one local or particular Church (whether Greek or Russian,) in opposition to the doctrine and

practice of another, he thinks it necessary to state precisely how the case stands with him in respect of his present Baptism, and then to ask whether he can be received either by the Russians so as not to be afterwards in the eyes of the Greeks an unbaptized person unlawfully admitted to Communion without Baptism, or by the Greeks so as not to be afterwards in the eyes of the Russians a person who being Baptized and regenerate already, instead of thanking God for that gift, and seeking to have any other defects corrected or filled up, has profanely and improperly consented at the bidding of another particular Church, and contrary to the sense of the Russian, and to his own conscience, to be rebaptized as if he had never received the Sacrament of Baptism.

“The *rule* of the Anglican Church is to Baptize children by *immersion*, unless it be certified that the child is too weak to bear it, in which case *affusion* is allowed. But the common practice is not even to ask for any such certificate, but to Baptize by affusion, or rather by *sprinkling*. There is no express order in the Ritual that either the immersion or the affusion should be thrice repeated, once at each Name of the Three Persons of the Trinity; and if it is ever so thrice repeated, this is merely of the private will of the officiating Minister. The writer was himself Baptized in the usual way: and could, if there were need, procure a certificate from the Register of the Parish Church to that effect. The Priest who Baptized him is still living; and his custom in Baptizing is to pour or dash a handful of water on the face of the child, once and not three times, moving his hand, perhaps, slightly at each Name of the Three Persons of the TRINITY.

“Now, to say nothing of the omission of other important ceremonies, adjuncts of Baptism, from the Anglican Ritual, the writer is aware that there is a deep sense both in the immersion (signified by the very word baptism,) and in the threefold repetition of that immersion, once at the Name of each Person of the Blessed TRINITY. He is aware that to dispense with either the one or the other of these things without any real necessity is contrary to the custom of the whole Catholic Church for many ages; so that Baptism so administered must be irregular and uncanonical, and any individual so administering it worthy

of canonical punishments. And although St. Gregory the Great, also called 'Dialogus,' may have thought the Spaniards justifiable in using Baptism with one immersion only, (they using it in an orthodox sense, not to symbolize any heresy, but to oppose the heresy of some who drew a perverse argument for three separate substances in the Three Persons of the TRINITY from the three immersions of Baptism,) still he cannot see that either the Spaniards or Pope Gregory could rightly without a Council authorize any departure from the universal custom and tradition of the Church in such a matter. And he regrets that he should have been himself so irregularly Baptized: and, if it were possible, he would wish those defects in his Baptism to be remedied and filled up by a conditional rebaptism, if any ground for doubt as to the essential validity of his present Baptism could be discovered, so as to justify such a step.

"But he cannot himself seek for any such conditional rebaptism in virtue of any doubt in his own conscience, because he has learned that the whole Church teaches unanimously that immersion and trine immersion, however important, are not absolutely essential to the Sacrament of Regeneration in each individual case. In cases of necessity all admit clinic Baptism: and such Baptism is not (like a Baptism of mere wish, or of sand,) to be repeated (at least not according to the judgment of the ancients,) if the person Baptized recovers. All admit too that not only in case of such necessity, but also in cases of great public convenience, or to avoid great evils, the Church has used and can use condescension, connivance, and economy in this matter. But neither for necessity, nor for economy, nor under any conceivable circumstances can the Church make the man who has not been regenerated to have been regenerated, or the man who has been regenerated to have not been regenerated; any more than she can make that which is the Body of CHRIST, however improperly or sinfully consecrated, to be not His Body, or that which is not really consecrated to be His Body. Whatever power the Church may have in excusing or condemning, allowing or forbidding, the doing of that which is as yet future and undone, she can have no power whatever over questions of fact, after the thing has been done: *Μόνου γὰρ αὐτοῦ χά Θεὸς στερίσκειται, ἀγέννητα ποιεῖν ὅτις ἂν ᾗ πεπραγμένα.*' Again,

whatever power she may have to allow or disallow, to repeat or not to repeat, such Sacraments as may be repeated, such as are in their essence within her power, as the giving the Holy Communion (where there is no harm if a man receives twice over,) or the Chrism, or Absolution, or even Ordination, she has no such power in the case of those two Sacraments of Baptism and the consecration of the Eucharist which cannot be repeated. Thus not only the consent of the whole ancient and of the present Latin and Russian Churches, but also, so far as the writer can understand it and make it consistent with itself, the practice and language even of the present Greek Church forbids him to doubt that however necessary immersion, and trine immersion, may be to the preservation of the full sense and perfection or type of Baptism upon the whole, and to the Church, they are not strictly of the essence of the Sacrament in any particular case. The same is shown still more plainly and directly by the doctrine and practice of the whole Russian Church, which expressly tells persons in the position of the writer that their present Baptism is valid, and receives such proselytes without rebaptism; and indirectly again by the practice of the Greeks who, knowing perfectly well what the Russians do, nevertheless receive at once all whom the Russians have received: which they could not do without sacrilege if the Russians had really received unbaptized persons, or had allowed Baptisms not merely defective in such important adjuncts as immersion and trine immersion, but essentially invalid; as, for instance, Baptisms administered with rosewater instead of water; or administered by Unitarians with water, but without the invocation of the Three Persons of the TRINITY.

“However in point of fact the Greeks now in dealing with particular cases follow a practice contrary to that of the Russians, and say to the individual that he is actually unbaptized, and must be Baptized; though in a case of necessity, or for economy, or if he came in a body with many others, the Church could use condescension, and consider him as Baptized, and admit him without rebaptism: and that there either is no difference between themselves and the Russians, or else, if there is, the Russians are wrong: but that even if they are wrong it is impossible, or inconvenient, or unnecessary, to move and settle

such a question for the sake of an individual case: that the applicant must judge for himself as well as he can; and enter the Eastern Communion in whichever way he likes best, either as unbaptized through the Greek, or as Baptized through the Russian door: only, if he desires to be received to Communion by the Greeks *directly*, he must present himself as unbaptized; if he desires to be received by them as already Baptized, he must come to them in a circuitous and indirect way, after having been received first by the Russians.

“Since this is the view of the Greeks, and they are unable to see anything inconsistent or unbecoming in such language, the only question for the individual is,

“First, whether he will act, as invited to act, merely on his own private judgment, and the judgment of the Russian Church: that is, dismiss as false and self-contradictory the Greek opinion and practice, and after having been received as Baptized by the Russians return to the Greek Clergy who have refused him as unbaptized, and be received by them, whether baptized or unbaptized, in virtue of his previous reception by the Russians:

“Or secondly, if this is unsatisfactory, there may remain one other course. He may say thus: ‘In Baptizing there are two parties, the Bishop or Priest Baptizing, and the person to be Baptized. I should myself desire a *conditional* rebaptism, if it could rightly be administered; though I could not come professing to seek from God that which I believe myself to have already received: And the rebaptizing practised by the Greeks appears to me now to be virtually conditional, though they are *unwilling* to call it such: It is not for me to reconcile their inconsistencies of language or practice: So long as I can take what they do in a good sense, and am allowed by them to do so, I may leave them to their own responsibility as to the rest.’

“The writer adopts this latter course, and asks, If he puts himself into the hands of a Greek Bishop to be Baptized, is he free to come to that act with such inward feelings as may be expressed thus:

“‘O God, I thank Thee, as I have ever done, for that grace of Regeneration which I trust I have received in my Baptism: But since I have learned that that Baptism was not administered in all respects rightly, and since some Bishops or some parts of

the Church even doubt of its essential validity, I seek now from Thy mercy for them the assuring of anything that was doubtful, and for myself the filling up of whatever was imperfect'?"

ANSWER TO THE ABOVE, RETURNED VERBALLY BY THE PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN ONE OF THE LESSER OR INFORMAL SYNODS ON SUNDAY, OCTOBER THE 8TH, 1851.

"There is only one Baptism. If the Russians allow any other, we know nothing of that, and do not recognize it. Our Church knows only one Baptism, and that without any detraction, addition, or *change* whatever." . . . [And then, turning, and bowing slightly to the Bishops right and left of him from his corner of the Divan,] "This is the answer, is it not?" To which they expressed their assent, either verbally, or by a similar inclination in return.

CHAPTER XIII.

FOUR DOCUMENTS, THREE AGAINST AND ONE FOR THE PRACTICE OF REBAPTIZING WESTERN CHRISTIANS.

I.

Extracts from the "Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch," (being a Narrative of that Patriarch's First Journey to and Stay in Russia, from A. D. 1654 to 1656,) written by his Archdeacon Paul in Arabic, and published in English by the Oriental Translation Fund.

"THE Patriarch of Moscow (Nicon) had held a Synod during this week (the fifth week in Lent, A. D. 1655,) in consequence of what our Lord the Patriarch of Antioch had said to him, and of his admonition to them concerning various innovations and defects in their religion. The first point was, that they do not celebrate upon an *'Αντιμύσσιον*, as we do, printed and imbedded like ours with the Relics of Saints, but simply on a piece of white linen. The second, that in the sacrifice of the Holy Oblation they do not make (with the particles) the nine Orders (*τάγματα*), but only four. The third, that in the Creed, they make a wrong inflexion at every clause. The fourth, that they kiss the Icons only once or twice in the year. The fifth, that they do not receive the *'Αντίδομα*. The sixth, that they make the sign of the Cross with a wrong disposition of the fingers. The seventh, concerning their Baptism of the Poles: for of late they have been baptizing them with a second Baptism. The Synod was held concerning other affairs also of defective rites and ceremonies, which we have already mentioned and shall hereafter more particularly mention. The Patriarch of Moscow therefore attended to the words of our Lord. And at this same time he had

interpreted the Service of the Liturgy from the Greek to the Russian; and explained the Ritual and Rubrics in so clear a manner that even children might ascertain the true Greek rite. Of these Rituals he printed several thousand copies, and distributed them over the country, as he did also with the service-book. He corrected also many of their errors in points of ceremony by Imperial admonitions and edicts, and by authoritative testimonies from holy books. Then they concluded the business of the Synod by declaring that the rebaptizing of the Poles was not lawful, according to what our Lord the Patriarch of Antioch had told them, and according to what is prescribed in the *Εὐχολόγιον* and the *Νομοκάνων*. For the Poles believe in the TRINITY, and are Baptized; and are not far removed from us, as the rest of the heretics and Lutherans are; like the Swedes, English, Hungarians, and others of the Frank sectaries, who do not fast, nor bow down to Pictures, nor to the Cross, &c. The Patriarch of Moscow therefore, being a lover of Greece, conformed himself obediently, and said to the Bishops, and the Archimandrites, and Hegoumens, and other chief Clergy who were present, 'I am a Russian, the son of a Russian; but my faith and my religion are Greek.' Some also of the Bishops conformed themselves obediently, saying, 'The gift of our faith in CHRIST and all the rites of our religion and its Mysteries came to us from the country of the East.' But others of them demurred inwardly, saying within themselves, 'We will not alter our Books, nor our rites and ceremonies, which we received from of old.' But they had not the boldness to speak openly: for the anger of the Patriarch is not to be withstood. Witness what he did with the Bishop Paul of Kolomna, when he banished him. Then he confirmed the decree that the Baptizing of the Poles is unlawful; and presented to our Lord the Patriarch of Antioch six Priests from the country of the Poles Ordained in presence of the Pope's Cardinal residing in Wilna. They said that they were Priests in the service of the Russians [that is Uniats, formerly subjects of Poland,] and of our own Church. The dress of these Polish Priests was like ours. The only difference between them and us is that they exercise their functions in the name of the Pope. Even the order of their Liturgy is like ours. These men, when one of the Emperor's Commanders had

taken one of their towns, and was destroying the Polish Churches, and killing the Priests, presented themselves before him in a suppliant manner, and informed him that they were orthodox. He sent them therefore to the Patriarch Nikon, to look into their affairs.

"Today (Saturday) we took them with us to the church of the Queen [Helena of Georgia, widow of David, grandson of Timouraz Khan, where the Patriarch Macarius was to celebrate the Liturgy;] and as soon as our Lord the Patriarch arrived, we robed him, and he made the *Ἀγιασμός*, &c. Then we brought to him two of the Polish Priests abovementioned, after we had divested them of their gowns, their girdles, and their calpacks. Bowing to the Patriarch with three *μετάνοιαι*, they stood before him bareheaded, with an interpreter near. Our Lord the Patriarch then began to expound to them the mysteries of the true faith, one by one, and belief in the Seven Councils; and they blessed what the Seven Councils have blessed, and anathematized what they have anathematized. Then they anathematized all heretics, and the Eighth Council. Afterwards he read to them the Creed word for word. Then he presented to them the Icons and the Cross to kiss, and they bowed to the ground. Having read over them the Prayers appointed in the *Εὐχολόγιον*, and the Prayers for the Chrism, he anointed them with it upon the head only, in the form of a cross. Then we commanded them, and they bowed to him three times, both together; and we took them to the Royal Doors, and they bowed before them three times and before the Icons of CHRIST and Our Lady. Thus much for the reception. Then we took hold of them by their arms, according to custom, saying, '*Κέλευσον κ. τ. λ. Δέσποτα ἄγιε.*' Then the Patriarch blessed them, and vested them with the Tunicle (*Στιχάριον*) and Orarion only as Deacons, without reciting any Prayer, saying to each of them '*Thy soul rejoice in the LORD; for He hath vested thee in the garment of purity:*' &c. Then he blessed them a second time, and they stood with us. At the time I said the Gospel, I went and presented it to them to kiss, as is customary. So also we mentioned their names after the mention of the Emperor and Empress, and their son, and daughters, and sisters. After the carrying round of the Gifts [in the Great Introit] our Lord

went out from the sanctuary with the Cross, and they came near to him, and he blessed them with it, as is usual. Then we brought forward those two Poles; and they bowed before the Holy Table three times, and the Patriarch blessed them, and put on them the *Ἐπιτραχήλιον* and the *Φελώνιον* [as to Priests,] while he repeated the verses. Then he delivered to them the Service-book of the Liturgy; and the other Priests kissed them, as usual; and they took their station [and Celebrated] with them." &c. Part v. §. x. pp. 85-87.

"On the Wednesday before the Ascension (A. D. 1655,) our Lord the Patriarch (of Antioch) celebrated the Liturgy in the church of the convent, and ordained Priests and Deacons. He Converted [that is, received as proselytes] four Priests from the country of the Poles; and having Anointed them, delivered them in charge to one of the Priests of the convent, to be taught the order of Sacrifice [that is, of the Offertory or Preparation at the Prothesis,] and the Liturgy for a certain number of days." [So then *these* were Latin Poles, not Uniats.] Ib., Part vi. §. v. p. 129.

"On Tuesday in Easter week" [A. D. 1656; the Patriarch Macarius and the writer his Archdeacon having left Moscow in order to return to their own country on the evening of the Fifth Sunday in Lent, and being then at Volchova, at the moment they were preparing to prosecute their journey to Pontivlia, a Grand Sotnik overtook them, and requested the Patriarch Macarius in the Emperor's name to return to him] "to assist at a new and secret Synod, and for other secret and necessary business of Church and State" &c. Ib. p. 287. So they returned, and on Thursday in St. Thomas's week reentered Moscow. p. 291.

"On Sunday before the Ascension (A. D. 1656,) the Patriarch of Moscow invited our Lord; and having assisted at Liturgy in the cathedral, we went up to his palace, where he this day held a Synod. Summonses had been sent to all the Bishops, &c. throughout the country; and the Metropolitan of Kazan was come to attend the Council. The object of the meeting was to discuss the Baptism of the Poles; because, as we have before mentioned, the Muscovites were in the habit of Baptizing them; whereas in the books of Ecclesiastical law this is forbidden,

with the exception of four sects which have made their appearance (more recently) in our time, and which are the English, the Lutheran, the Calvinist, and the Paphlagonians who are followers of Paul of Samosata [Socinians,] and dwell in thirty small towns or villages in the district of Tornova. Our Lord the Patriarch therefore demanded of them that they should conform to what was written in their own laws. We had found in a book an ancient writing from the Holy Mountain in which this matter was expounded. This section of the book our Lord the Patriarch wrote out, and signed with his own name : and after a long and an angry discussion with the heads of the Muscovite Clergy at this Synod, he compelled them by the testimony of their own books of Law [Nomocanons,] reluctantly to submit to the truth. Then he delivered this document or book to the Patriarch of Moscow, after he had put his name to it ; and it passed into the hands of the Emperor. Afterwards it was translated into the Russian language, printed, and distributed : and an Imperial decree in conformity with it went forth to prohibit the Baptism of the Poles and other Franks of the same religion ; for they approach the nearest of any of the sects to ours. Thus this affair was settled, and the business of the Synod concluded."

"Now at length we discovered the motive of our detention, which was for three purposes. The first was to discuss the affair of the Baptism of the Poles ; the second, to give testimony concerning the Metropolitan of Moldavia ; and the third, to condemn a new heresy of a second Arius, which had made its appearance among the Muscovites, as we shall relate hereafter." *Ib.*, Part vii. §. viii. p. 296.

II.

Extract from the MS. Acts of the Synod held at Moscow, A. D. 1666—1667, for the Deposition of the Patriarch Nikon.

IN the name of the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, Amen. In the present year A. M. 7105, and A. D. 1667, March 15, at the desire of the Tsar Alexis Michaëlovich, &c., the Most Holy Patriarchs Paisius of Alexandria, Macarius of Antioch, Joasaph of Moscow and All Russia, assembled together

with the Most Reverend Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, and all the sacred Synod ; when the Tsar addressed them concerning a former Synod held in the year 129, [1629 ?] under the Most Holy Patriarch Philaret Niketich of Moscow and All Russia respecting the Baptizing of persons coming over from the Roman faith to the orthodox faith of the holy Eastern Church ; [and asked] whether it was then rightly decreed to Baptize them ?

Hereupon the Patriarchs, &c., gave order to copy out from the Synodal Exposition made under the Patriarch Philaret Niketich such passages as were quoted in it from the Canons of the holy Apostles and of the holy Fathers, and from other divine writings, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they who wrote for that former Synod transcribed and adduced accurately what they adduced from the Canons and other divine writings concerning the aforesaid Latin Baptism, or there was in their transcriptions and adductions any inaccuracy.

[So there was] transcribed from the Canons and from that former Synodal Exposition [as follows:]

In the Synodal Exposition, fol. 219, there are printed these words : "Jonah, Metropolitan of Kroutitz said, It is written in the Sixth Council that the Latins ought not to be Baptized, but only anointed with Chrism : " And the answer made to the said Jonah, thus : "In canon xcv., the canon alluded to, this is not written ; but what is written is, that 'The Paulicians, the Eunomians, Montanists, Sabellians, Manichees, Valentinians, Marcionites, and others of like heresies, on their coming to the orthodox faith we receive as heathens : ' and a heathen must of course be Baptized." There is printed also part of a gloss upon the same Canon respecting heretics not named by it, adding from other Canons a notice which of them are to be Baptized.

But in this Canon xcv. of the Sixth Œcumenical Council we read : "Them that are converted from heretics we receive thus : Arians, Macedonians, &c., Nestorians, [*Ἀπιστέπους*,] Quartodecimans, and Apollinarists, and Eutychians, and Sabellians, and those who come from similar heresies, on their anathematizing all heresies, and their own among the rest, we anoint with holy Chrism on the breast, the eyes, the nostrils, the lips,

and the ears, signing them, and saying ‘*The Seal of the Gift of the HOLY GHOST.*’” And with this Canon the answer given to the Metropolitan of Kroutitz in the Synodal Exposition does *not* agree.

In the same Exposition, fol. 220, there are printed as adduced in proof Canons xlv. and l. of the Holy Apostles. And of these in Canon xlv. it is written that “a Bishop receiving the Baptism or Sacrifice of heretics is to be deposed:” and in Canon l., that “if any Bishop shall not perform three immersions of one initiation, but one immersion, which is given into the death of the LORD, he is to be deposed:” &c.

But these Apostolical Canons must be rightly understood. For in speaking thus of the Baptism and Sacrifice of heretics they plainly intend *those* heretics who are totally aliens from the divine faith, and whom the Canons following order to be Baptized, but not such as Baptize in the Name of the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, but oppose themselves in consequence of some other schisms or heresies.

These Apostolic Canons too are cited unfairly against the Latin Baptism. For they say, “If any man Baptize not by three immersions, but by one only which is given into the death of the LORD, let him be deposed.” But the Latins Baptize neither *by one immersion*, nor *into the death of the LORD*; but they Baptize by pouring water thrice in the Name of the FATHER, and the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, as the Form of the Roman Baptism exhibited to this sacred Synod proves. It would have been more to the point for the writer of the Exposition to have raised the question about affusion, and to have questioned whether affusion is to be received in lieu of immersion; whereas now he has adduced no testimonies invalidating affusion.

In the same Exposition, fol. 220, Canon xix. of the First Œcumenical Council relating to the Paulicians is adduced in argument. But neither can this Canon be rightly applied to the case of Latin Baptism, seeing that the Paulicians denied the Divinity of CHRIST, and asserted Him to be a mere man.

At the same fol. 220, overleaf, are printed these words: “The Melchisedekians, and the Jews, and the Armenians, fast on the Sabbath.” In this too the writer has made his collections inaccurately. For the Jews the Sabbath is a festival, not a fast, as is plain from their laws. And the Armenians eat cheese

and eggs on all Sabbaths, as may be seen from Canon lvi. of the Sixth Council quoted at fol. 221 by the writer himself, though wrongly called by him Canon lvi. of the Apostles. He has also at fol. 221 these words: "The Jews keep festival on the Sabbath:" notwithstanding his having written above at fol. 220 "The Jews fast on the Sabbath." And yet before, on the same fol. 221, he had written, "The Romans equally with the Jews and Melchisedekians and Armenians fast on the Sabbath." And this is another inaccuracy of the writer.

On the same folio, overleaf, he has ascribed to the Romans the heresy of Montanus. And if indeed there were found in them the heresy of Montanus, or any other like it, [making them to be] like those heretics whom the Canons order us to Baptize, it would follow that we ought to Baptize the Romans likewise. But upon examination of the Order of the Latin Baptism by this Synod it appears that there is among the Romans no such thing as the heresy of Montanus; seeing that they Baptize in the Name of the FATHER, and the SON, and the HOLY GHOST; only they pour water thrice instead of immersing. But against affusion the writer exhibited to the Synod held under Philaret Niketich no proofs whatever.

At fol. 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, of the same Synodal Exposition the writer parallels with the Latins certain heretics whom we are ordered to Baptize, namely the Montanists called Phrygians, and the Sabellians, who were heretical concerning the TRINITY. But these may not so be paralleled with the Romans; seeing that according to the Roman Order Baptism is administered in the Name of the FATHER, and the SON, and the HOLY GHOST.

At fol. 228, overleaf, it is thus written: "The Arians Baptize with one immersion: They say not '*In the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST,*' but '*In the name of Him that is to come,*' (like John the Forerunner,) that is, CHRIST JESUS." This too the writer has written inaccurately, without examining the Canons. If such had been indeed the Baptism of the Arians at the time [when the Canons were made,] and not in the Name of the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, the divine Canons would not have ordered that they should be received, and that they should not be rebaptized, but only

anointed with Chrism, and made to anathematize their heresy ; as is clear from Canon xcvi. of the Sixth Council, quoted above.

At fol. 230, overleaf, Canon xix. of the First Œcumenical Council, relating to the Paulicians, is applied to the Latins. The writer is again inaccurate in making this application, as has been already shown above.

The principal heresy of the Latins is their departure from the Eastern Church concerning the procession of the HOLY GHOST, holding that He proceeds from the SON also, like as from the FATHER. And this Latin heresy respecting the procession of the HOLY GHOST is exceeded in gravity both by the Arian heresy and by the Macedonian. For the Arians do not confess the SON of GOD to be of one substance with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST, but say that He was made and created : and the Macedonians separate the HOLY GHOST from the FATHER and the SON, and make Him a servant. Notwithstanding this, Canons vii. of the Second, and xcv. of the Sixth Œcumenical Councils do not order us to Baptize them, but only to anoint them with Chrism according to the usual form. How much more then are the Latins (who are guilty of a less error,) not to be Baptized ? Canon vii. of the Second Council says thus : "The Quartodecimans, or Tetradiatæ, and Arians, and Macedonians, and Novatians, and Sabbatians, and Apollinarists, we receive upon their giving libels, sealing them only on all the senses." And Canon xcv. of the Sixth Council has been cited and written out above. And in consideration of these Canons neither ought the Latins to be Baptized ; since they Baptize in the Name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST, and not like the Montanists, and Pepouzians, and Phrygians, and all the rest who resemble them and are altogether heretics.

Canon i. of Basil the Great teaches that he is a heretic who is an alien in faith : "Αἱρετικός ἐστὶν ὁ παντελῶς ἀπερβήγμενος καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν πίστιν ἀπηλλοτριωμένος· ὁ δὲ διὰ ζήτημά τι ἄγνωστον [ἰάσιμον,] σχισματικός· Παρασυναγωγαὶ δὲ εἰσὶν αἱ συνάξεις αἱ παρὰ τούτων ἢ ἄλλων ἀνυποτάκτων γινόμεναι· οἵτινες ἀπεσχέθησαν αὐτοὶ οἱ ἴδιοι ἀπὸ τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἄλλην συνέστησαν εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν συνάγονται." "Ἐδοξε τοίνυν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ μὲν τῶν αἱρετικῶν βάπτισμα παντελῶς ἀθετῆσαι· τὸ δὲ τῶν σχισματικῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς παρασυναγωγαῖς παραδέχασθαι."

The Canon of the Presbyter Timothy at fol. 634 of the "*Kormchay*" [that is, of the Russian Nomocanon,] directs that Arians are not to be Baptized, but only anointed with Chrism.

In the book of our venerable father Joseph of Volotsk addressed to the heretics of Novgorod, ch. 15, it is written thus: "As for those who come over from the heretics and repent, but believe, and have been Baptized in the name of the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, it is not commanded to rebaptize them, but to admit them to the Mysteries at once, as soon as they have renounced their heresy."

The following is a *Canonical Answer of Timothy, Archbishop of Alexandria*, to a Question addressed to him: [omitted from the latest editions of the Greek Πηδάλιον]

(*Question.*) "Why do we not Baptize heretics who are converted to the Catholic Church?" (*Answer.*) "If we did Baptize them a man would not be so ready to return from heresy, from shame to be rebaptized. However, we must know that the HOLY GHOST comes also by the laying on of the hand of the Presbyters and by prayer, as is attested by the Acts of the Holy Apostles, chap. xviii. '*Then laid they their hands upon them, and they received the HOLY GHOST.*' Over and above these considerations we should consider the case of those who have voluntarily apostatized from CHRIST, and have sacrificed to idols, and have not only perished themselves but compelled others also to perish with them, of whom Canon ix. of the Synod of Ancyra (fol. 44, in the *Kormchay*,) decrees thus: '*Whoever has not only himself sacrificed, but has also compelled others, let him do penance for ten years.*' (*The Gloss upon the same:*) '*Whoever have not only sacrificed,*' &c." [reciting the Canon at length as it stands in the Greek Πηδάλιον, p. 217, with very little variation.]

But if any one begins to be displeased through respect for that Synodal Exposition made under Philaret Niketich, Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, and not enduring that it should be set aside, let not such a one be displeased hereat; nor let him be troubled with any doubt; but let him know that in old times also one synod corrected another, and did not think it inadmissible to meddle with the earlier, but taking counsel for the greater profit of the Church corrected them afterwards; as may be seen in the following instances: The Synod of Neocæsarea

in its fifteenth Canon orders that in each Cathedral there should be seven Deacons, though the city may be a great one. But the holy Fathers of the Sixth Œcumenical Council decided concerning this Synod of Neocæsarea that it had not rightly understood the words found in the Acts of the Apostles respecting seven Deacons: for the Apostles then were not taking thought for men to serve in the divine Mysteries, but for men to serve tables, &c. The same may be said of many other canons also, which subsequently the Œcumenical Synods set aside. As may be seen in the case of the Synod held under St. Cyprian which decreed that all heretics and schismatics should be baptized, and gave [restricted ?] the [power of] Baptizing to the three Orders. Again, the Synod of Carthage appointed that on the Great Thursday [the faithful] should Communicate in the holy Mysteries after their evening meal, in imitation of that Supper of the LORD. But the Sixth Œcumenical Synod set aside that canon, and ordered that the Bishops and Priests should on that day perform the immaculate Service fasting, and that the people to whom they should give the same holy Mysteries should be fasting too. And what is stronger still, even the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons the holy Fathers afterwards amended on occasion; as we see was done by the Sixth Œcumenical Synod in Canon xii., which runs thus: "*Though it be said*" (that is, in the Apostolical Canons,) "*that Bishops are not to send away their wives, still, in order to the greater profit of religion we command that he who is appointed Bishop shall thenceforth no more live with his wife.*" And many other such-like things there are to be found laid down by earlier holy Synods which were amended by other later Synods without any blame: neither did they who made such amendments blame or condemn those earlier Synods which they amended. And thus now also let none doubt or find fault on account of the correction made of the Synod formerly held under the Patriarch Philaret Niketich. For it is properly done, and in agreement with the above mentioned precedents.

But if any one is obstinate, and persists in wishing to rebaptize the Latins, he should consider Canon xlvii. of the Holy Apostles: "*If any Bishop or Priest baptize over again him, who has received the true Baptism, or do not Baptize him who has*

been polluted by the heretics, let him be deposed." and Canon lv. which has been cited above, (folio 3, overleaf :) For that Canon orders to rebaptize certain who were Baptized with one immersion : and Canon xlix. of the same : "*If any Bishop or Priest do not Baptize, according to the LORD's command, into FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, but into three unoriginated, or into three Sons, or into three Paracletes, let him be deposed."*

Such heretics then as these Apostolical Canons and the above recited Canons of the Fathers made subsequently to them order us to Baptize we ought to Baptize : but as for those that have been Baptized in the Name of the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, we do not find in the divine Canons of the holy Apostles and the Fathers that they are to be rebaptized.

And with regard to the Latin Baptism which is administered with three affusions in the Name of the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, the Most Holy Patriarchs Paisius of Alexandria, Macarius of Antioch, and Joasaph of Moscow, and the Most Reverend Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, and the whole sacred Synod, having heard these extracts, determined the matter thus : That it is not proper to Baptize those who come over to the holy Apostolic Eastern Church from the Latins.

And in confirmation of this decree the Most Holy Œcumenical Patriarchs Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch laid before the Synod an ancient Greek book in which was written how in the year of the world 6992, (or from the Incarnation 1484,) there was held a Synod in Constantinople in the church of the Most Holy Mother of God called *Pammacaristé* by the four Most Holy and Most Blessed Œcumenical Patriarchs Simeon of Constantinople, Gregory of Alexandria, Dorotheus of Antioch, and Joachim of Jerusalem, for the correction and rejection of the unholy Synod which had been held at Florence. This holy Synod decreed that "*If any from among the Latins return to the Orthodox and Catholic Eastern Church, they are to be anointed with holy Chrism, but are not to be rebaptized."* This holy Synod prescribed also the Form to be used in receiving them ; how we are to question them and make them to anathematize the Latin heresies, and afterwards to anoint them with holy Chrism, and say Prayers over them, and further to take a writing from them to the Great Church.

The like directions are given by the most wise and holy Mark, Metropolitan of Ephesus, in his Encyclical Epistle beginning with these words: "*Christians over all the earth and in the islands:*" in which after much other matter he says also that "*Such as come from the Latins to orthodoxy we receive like Arians, Macedonians, Sabbatians, and Novatians, on their giving a writing, and anathematizing every heresy which holds not with the Holy Eastern Church: and in virtue of Canon vii. of the Second Council we seal them [with Chrism] on the forehead, eyes, &c., according to the rubric, saying, 'The Seal of the Gift of the HOLY GHOST, Amen.'*" Behold, thus writes and directs the most holy Mark of Ephesus: In accordance with whom the most holy Patriarchs with the whole sacred Synod have made this their present decree:

"Paisius of Moscow, Macarius of Antioch, Joasaph of Moscow, and the whole sacred Synod: Having this day read over the extracts made from the Acts of that Synod which was held in the time of the Patriarch of Moscow Philaret Niketich, we have found that the writers proposed unfairly to that Synod references to the Canons which are not sufficient to justify the rebaptizing of the Latins. Further, in the Acts of that Synod we have found canons not agreeing with the Canons, and references or quotations not at all agreeing with the Canons, as that same Synodal Exposition itself shows, from which the discord of Canons and references has now been written out. And now we have all judged unanimously that it is not right to rebaptize Latins; but that after having anathematized their heresies and confessed their sins they ought to be anointed with holy Chrism, and so be admitted to the divine Mysteries, and to the Communion of the holy Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church, according to the sacred Canons of which mention has been made more at length above. But as respects them that are displeased that the Synod held under the Most Holy Philaret Niketich Patriarch of Moscow should be corrected, something has been already said above. Thus we all give a trustworthy witness synodically to the divine Canons, and have decided unanimously that from this day they who come from the Latins to our orthodox Christian faith of the holy Eastern Church are not to be rebaptized; but are to be received according to the form and testimony

written above. Thus we have unanimously decreed, and have subscribed with our hands in the year of the world 7175, from the Incarnation 1667, the —th day of June.”

This Act is signed by the three Patriarchs Paisius of Alexandria, Macarius of Antioch, and Joasaph of Moscow, (the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem having also given their assent to the holding of the Synod, and assenting to its acts afterwards,) by six Greek Metropolitans of Nice, Amasia, Iconium, Trebizond, Varna, and Chios, and four Russian of Novgorod, Kazan, Rostoff, and Kroutitz, by a Metropolitan of Georgia, by the Metropolitan of Servia, by Paisius formerly Archbishop of Gaza, by the Archbishops of Sinai and Wallachia, by six Russian Archbishops of Vologda, Smolensk, Souzdal, Riazan, Tver, and Pskoff, and by five Bishops of Kolomna, Viatka, Slavonoserbsk, Chernigoff, and Mstislavla, with more than fifty Archimandrites, Hegoumens, and Protopresbyters, besides monks and other clerks.

III.

(A.D. 1718, August 31.) “*A Letter to the Emperor Peter I. from Jeremiah III. Patriarch of Constantinople, directing that Lutherans and Calvinists coming over to the Orthodox Greek Faith are not to be rebaptized, but are to be anointed with holy Chrism.*” (Extracted and translated from the Russian version printed in the Full Collection of Russian Laws.)

“AFTER that any matters which seem doubtful have been proposed by questions for fitting and ready decision according to the orthodox confession of CHRIST’s holy Church, and by examination and determination of a Synod the difficulty respecting them has been done away and the doubt dissolved, the same ought to be and to remain as has been determined by the Synod, that is, unquestioned, and unmeddled with by posterity: Or rather, if ever any doubt should arise respecting any such decision tending to change, we ought to exert ourselves in every way to defend the same decision as a good enactment of our ancestors, and by all means to hinder its being set aside. For this end, as it seems, most exalted and pacific Sovereign, you have communicated to us on this matter by your letter not long ago. In that letter you put a question, and desire from the

Great Church of CHRIST a judgment concerning Lutherans and Calvinists who come over to the pious and pure doctrine of our orthodox faith, whether they ought to be rebaptized, or be added to the sons and heirs of the heavenly kingdom by being anointed only with the divine Chrism?

"This same question was proposed in time past by certain other persons also of blessed memory to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyprian. And when this matter had been carefully considered and examined into by a sacred Synod, it was decreed, in conformity with the holy Canons, (which I consider it superfluous to write out here at length or to enumerate by their titles,) that they ought to be perfected by unction only with the holy Chrism, and by no means to be rebaptized, when they come voluntarily to the light of the orthodox Service, after they have first abjured their strange paternal traditions and unseemly opinions, and have confessed sincerely all that in spiritual matters is taught and preached by the Catholic Apostolic and Eastern Church.

"And so, since such was the judgment respecting this question of that Patriarch, who was illustrious at the time, and of the holy Bishops who were with him, the same is likewise the judgment of our mediocrity. We judge in agreement with them, and make no contrary constitution concerning this matter, but confirm their decree, and ordain that the same be held unchangeable for ever.

"Wherefore, by this confirmatory Patriarchal rescript we declare that such as leave the Lutheran and Calvinistic heresies and unite themselves to the pious confession of the pure faith of orthodox Christians, holding and confessing all that the Eastern Church well and piously teaches, are no more to be rebaptized, but are to be anointed only with the holy Chrism, and so to be made perfect Christians and sons of light and heirs of the kingdom of heaven.

"Wherefore also this Epistle is now sent to your Pacific Majesty, that this matter may be settled without any manner of doubt for the future, as we have herein written," &c. [Signed by *Jeremiah III., Archbishop of Constantinople, which is New Rome, and Œcumenical Patriarch.*]

IV.

"A Constitution of the Holy Church of CHRIST defending the Holy Baptism given from God, and spitting upon the Baptisms of the heretics which are otherwise administered."*

"THERE being many means through which our salvation is conveyed to us, and these, like the rounds of a ladder, all let into and supporting and succeeding one another, as looking all to one end, the first of these means is Baptism, which was entrusted from God to the Holy Apostles, inasmuch as none of the rest without this can have any place: (For '*except a man,*' He saith, '*be born of water and of the SPIRIT, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.*') For it was necessary that as our first birth or generation introduces each man into this mortal life, so another generation should be found, and a more mysterious way, neither beginning from corruption nor ending in corruption, through which it might be possible for us to imitate the Captain of our salvation, JESUS CHRIST. For the water in the font is taken for a womb, and gives birth to him who is born, as Chrysostom says: and the Spirit supervening in the water is the power of God fashioning the embryo. And as He, after He had been laid down in the sepulchre, rose up on the third day to life, so believers going under the water in-

* In the "Συλλογή τῶν θελόν τῆς πίστεως Δογματῶν" of Athanasius Parvus, as revised and edited by Macarius Notaras Archbishop of Corinth, and printed at Leipzig A. D. 1806, at p. 350, there is a note giving the following account of this Patriarchal Constitution of 1756:

"About the middle of the last century (the eighteenth,) at Constantinople there was moved this question, whether such as are converted from the Latins ought to be Baptized. And there was no small division among the chief men of the Clergy, some insisting that it should be so, and some that it should not. Cyril the Patriarch, [who had before been Metropolitan] of Nicomedia, was a most ardent partizan and supporter of those who were determined that the Latins should be Baptized. And as he was seeking for judgments of theologians with a view to this, the Patriarch of Alexandria Matthew, who was then at Constantinople, and was a very close friend of his, suggested to him that, if he wished to obtain a safe and most complete judgment, the only man capable of giving him such an one was the learned physician Eustratius Argentes of Scio, who was in Scio at the time. For he had been acquainted with him during a long time in Egypt, and so knew how well skilled he was in Ecclesiastical matters. The Patriarch Cyril wrote to him: and he having such a judgment [on the

stead of the earth, represent by three submersions their union by grace with the resurrection on the third day, the water being sanctified by the supervention of the allholy SPIRIT, so that while by the visible water the body is enlightened, the invisible SPIRIT gives sanctification to the soul. For as the water in a cauldron receives and holds the heat of the fire, so the water in the font by the working of the SPIRIT is transelemented into divine virtue, cleansing and giving the grace of adoption to them that are thus Baptized ; but as for them that are initiated in any other way, instead of giving cleansing and adoption, showing them to be polluted, and children of darkness.

“And now, whereas three years ago a question was raised whether the Baptisms of the heretics administered contrary to the tradition of the holy Apostles and the divine Fathers, and contrary to the custom and law of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, are to be allowed when they come over to us, we, as having by God’s mercy been bred up in the orthodox Church, and following the canons of the holy Apostles and the divine Fathers, and knowing only one, our own, Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, acknowledge only her Sacraments, and consequently also her divine Baptism ; but as for those of the heretics, which are not administered as the HOLY GHOST commanded the holy Apostles, and as the Church of CHRIST has ever administered them, and administers them at this present day,

question as the Patriarch wanted] ready by him in the form of a special treatise, sent it to His Allholiness. So having received the book, and having gotten from it abundant certainty that the Latins are absolutely and beyond all doubt unbaptized, (*πάντη πάλως ἀβάπτιστοι*;) he forthwith put forth a Constitution, which the other Patriarchs also accepted and subscribed, that from thenceforth the Latins who come over to our Church are to be Baptized. So consecutive and powerful is that book, that not even those most hateful [heretics] themselves could reply to it. For when it was published (being printed at the press of the Armenians, which was bad enough,) it made a great noise, so that the Venetian Consul having asked to see it, but not being able to understand it from its being in Greek, employed a man to translate it for him into Italian ; and having read it in that language, sent it so translated to the Venetian Senate. But to the present day no answer to it has either appeared or been heard of : so unanswerable is it. For who can say that the word to baptize (that is, to dip) does not signify to plunge under the water that which is baptized ? Or that in the grave not the whole body is buried, but only a part of it ? Or that the maternal womb does not contain the whole infant but only a part of it ? Or who can contradict Paul, or Dionysius, or Cyril of Jerusalem ? We have ourselves heard

but are inventions of corrupt men, we judging them to be monstrous and alien to the whole tradition of the Apostles, do reject them by common determination ; and such as come over to us from them we receive as unordained and unbaptized ; following herein our LORD JESUS CHRIST (Who bade His disciples to Baptize in the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST,) and the holy and divine Apostles (who command us to Baptize proselytes by three submersions and emersions, and at each of the submersions to pronounce one Name of the HOLY TRINITY,) and the holy and Apostolic Dionysius the Areopagite (who saith that the proselyte being stripped of all clothing, the Priest is to Baptize him thrice in a font having water and oil consecrated in it, invoking the Triperosnal Essence of the Divine Beatitude ; and immediately after is to seal the person Baptized with the most divinely-working Chrism, and further communicate him in the perfecting Mystery of the holy Eucharist ;) and the Second and Quinisext holy Œcumenical Synods, which command that with respect to such as are not Baptized with three submersions and emersions, and do not at each one of the submersions pronounce the invocation of one of the Divine Persons, but are Baptized in any other way, we are to receive all such as unbaptized, when they come over to orthodoxy.

“ Therefore, we also, following the holy and divine Constitu-

it praised by the lips of the most learned Eugenius [Bulgaris] with expressions of admiration. And so they are now Baptized everywhere, although some moved rather by feeling, or perhaps rather by ignorance, still even now are inclined to make opposition, putting forward the well-known former rule (*τὴν φερομένην διὰ τὰς*) which receives Latin converts by unction with Chrism. But they do not understand that they who lived in those former times made this order of economy, on account of the great power of Popery and the tyranny they were afraid of: (*διὰ τὸν βρασμὸν τοῦ Παπισμοῦ καὶ τὴν τυραννίαν*). But now the season of economy has passed ; as Divine Providence has set a *guardian* [the Turk] over us, and the rage of the Papists shall no more have power against us. Secondly, we bid him who comes over to us from the Latins to anathematize all Popish innovations, and he anathematizes them. But one of these innovations, and the first and worst, is the setting at naught of the Apostolic Baptism ; and he delivers this together with the rest to anathema or to Satan. How then after this shall any one recognize as valid, as holy, and divine, that which he has already subjected to anathema, and confirm it by the divine Chrism, saying, ‘ *The seal of the Gift of the HOLY GHOST !* ’ The Gift of what HOLY GHOST can the innovation be, that which is anathematized and satanical ? Verily this is to combine things incompatible, and to cast holy things to the dogs.”

tions judge that the Baptisms of the heretics are to be rejected and abhorred, as unnatural, and alien from the Apostolic and Divine commandment, and as waters which cannot profit (as St. Ambrose and Athanasius the Great say,) nor give any sanctification to such as receive them, nor avail at all to the washing away of sins. And such as are baptized by them with a baptism which is no Baptism we receive as unbaptized when they come over to the orthodox faith, and without any manner of scruple or risk we Baptize them, according to the Canons of the holy Apostles and the Councils, on which rests firmly the holy Apostolic and Catholic Church of CHRIST, which is the mother of us all. And upon this our common determination and judgment we set our seals to this our present Constitution, which accords with the decrees of the Apostles and the Councils, confirming it by our subscriptions, in the year of salvation MDCCLVI." "+ Cyril, by the mercy of God Archbishop of Constantinople or New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch." "+ Matthew, by the mercy of God Pope and Patriarch of the great City of Alexandria, and Ecumenical Judge." "+ Parthenius, by the mercy of God Patriarch of the Holy City of Jerusalem, and all Palestine."

If it should be observed by the Greek reader that the last of the four Documents printed in this Chapter is at variance with the three others preceding it, as well as with the earlier Synods held at Constantinople to which they refer, he may be reminded that it is no new thing for the error of older local Synods to be corrected by *larger* or *œcumenical* Synods afterwards: and that *therefore* the Constitution signed in 1756 by three Patriarchs is now to be followed rather than the decrees of the Synod held at Constantinople in 1484, signed by the four Patriarchs and twenty-four Metropolitans; and than those of the Synod held at Moscow in 1667, attested and signed by three Patriarchs, by twenty-five Greek, Russian, Georgian, Servian, and Wallachian Bishops, and by above fifty Archimandrites, Hegoumens, and Arch-Priests, besides other monks and clerks.

Or again, if any one doubt whether the authority of a Constitution signed by three Patriarchs is really greater than that of the Synods above mentioned, he may fall back upon this consideration, that at any rate the Apostolical, and Ecumenical, and other Canons, and above all the divine Scriptures, as interpreted

by three Patriarchs *and by ourselves*, are of greater Ecclesiastical authority than any decree or interpretation made by the Synods of 1484 and 1667, or by any other Synods which are *not concurred in by ourselves*.

Also, if the Constitution of 1756 by itself scarcely outweighs the decrees of the earlier Councils, yet with the help of the book intitled “*Στηλίτευσις τοῦ ‘Παντισμοῦ*” to which it is appended, it may be thought abundantly to outweigh them. For that book was published by the then Patriarch of Constantinople in the name of the Church of CHRIST herself: and the authority of the Church herself is doubtless superior to that of any local Synods. And in that book the Church herself (if we may believe the Patriarch publishing it,) says “*to them that are obstinate, and persist in their fault, and are dastardly cowards, and object that the local Synod held at Constantinople (in 1484) by twenty-four Archbishops admitted the salt-water sprinkling and satanical deadly affusion of the Papists as Baptism, that we (ἡμεῖς) notwithstanding reject this doctrine as evil, heretical, and worthy of anathema: and that as many as admit the Popish sprinkling or affusion, are under the influence of the evil spirit, and make themselves like to the Jews who were the murderers of CHRIST, and to the generations of vipers.*” Who after this will not tremble to assert that the authority of the Synods of 1484 and 1667 is greater than that of the Constitution of 1756? Or, if fear be a less legitimate motive than reasonable conviction, let him that doubts only read the book intitled “*Στηλίτευσις τοῦ ‘Παντισμοῦ*” and if he finds it distinguished throughout by accurate learning, just dispassionate reasoning, and a spirit of longsuffering, charity, and holiness, he will perhaps doubt no longer, but will receive both it and the Constitution appended to it as the true voice and law of the Church moved and empowered by the HOLY SPIRIT to abrogate and condemn the decrees and usage of former Synods. *Oremus!*

DISSERTATION XIV.

OF THE WORD AND DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

THAT the Bread and Wine in the Holy Eucharist *are* after consecration CHRIST's Body and Blood, which they were not before, is the constant doctrine of the whole Catholic and Apostolic Church, received originally from the lips of the LORD Himself, Who said not "This is *joined with*," or "This *signifies*," but "This *is*"; and Who, having created all things, knew also how to employ words; nor left it for any man to modify the force of His words, or to substitute others in their stead.

In the language of the Liturgies and of the Fathers the "Gifts" or "Oblations," that is, the "species" or kinds of bread and wine, are said to be changed, transferred, transfigured, transformed, transmuted, or transelemented into the Body and Blood of CHRIST. And since this change is plainly not a sensible one of place or form or figure, and yet is believed to be real, such expressions as "transmuted" and "transelemented," which naturally import something deep and inward, must *so far* be more appropriate, and approximate more to the truth, than such expressions as "transferred," "transfigured," or "transformed," which in their primary and literal sense are plainly inappropriate.

Subsequently to the separation of the East from the West the Latins added to those words which they had formerly used in common with the Greeks a new term "*transubstantiation*," and insisted on its use as necessary. Distinguishing all that meets the senses, or is capable of meeting the senses, in the bread and wine from their deeper essence and being, and calling the former "*accidents*" and the latter "*substance*," they assert that while the accidents remain unchanged, as appears

plain to sense, the substance, that is, the innermost nature or essence which is beyond sense, is changed ; as it plainly must be in some way if there is any true change at all.

The Easterns understanding the word "transubstantiation" to be simply synonymous with their own older words of "transmutation" and "transelementation," and wishing to show their hearty agreement with the Latins in condemning the heresies of Luther and Calvin, have accepted this word, and now use it freely among themselves, refusing to listen to the scruples of some who disliked it merely because it was novel, and because it came to them from the West. Not to mention the writings of many individuals of the modern Greeks, especially such as had studied in Italy, the word transubstantiation was in the seventeenth century deliberately employed in the "*Orthodox Confession*" of 1648 : it passed from thence into the *xviii. Articles of the Synod of Bethlehem* in 1672 : and quite recently, in 1839, it has been deliberately retained and noticed in the present authorized *Catechism* of the Russian Church.

The Lutherans, the Calvinists, and with some few exceptions the Anglicans also, reject the word "transubstantiation" for the contrary reason to that for which the Easterns accept it ; namely, because they deny that there is any real change, transmutation, or transelementation : and they justify themselves commonly by the incorrect assertion that the doctrine of transubstantiation contradicts the senses : whereas they should rather say that the natural *primâ facie* presumption that what is not sensibly changed is not changed at all is stronger with them than their faith in CHRIST's words, or in the tradition and interpretation of His Church.

However, the word "transubstantiation" is *not* in fact merely a fresh synonym added to the words in use before ; but it is also connected with a certain scholastical theory, according to which things known to us through the senses are *physically* compounded of *substance* and *accidents* ; and according to which the *physical substances* of bread and wine in the Eucharist cease to exist, while their *physical accidents* remain miraculously suspended and not inhering in any subject. This explanation or definition of the manner of the change (any *further* definition of which is declared to be impossible,) seems to be recognized by

allusion in the decree itself of the Council of Trent, and is distinctly taught in the Catechism published by Pope Pius V. in the name of that Council. And among the Greeks, besides finding favour with many individual writers, it has been employed in two public documents, the *Orthodox Confession* and the *xviii. Articles of the Synod of Bethlehem*, which are for them of about the same authority as the Catechism of Pope Pius may be for the Latins.

It may be questioned indeed whether propositions concerning the real and separate existence of individuals, species, genera, and substances, individual and specific and generic accidents, differences, and properties, could ever become articles of faith, even if they were imposed as such by Œcumenical Councils. Still, as every art and science has power to make its own words, so the Church also, even if she seemed to misuse popular or scientific language, would yet within her own sphere be amenable only to her own will. So far as any thing she decreed had really respect to faith, she would be always right, whatever words were used; and if in any thing she mistook the precise boundary of faith, and erred in matters beyond her province, such an error would be no real objection against her religious infallibility. For instance, if the Church had condemned as heresy (which she has not,) the proposition that the earth turns round the sun, this in the sense ultimately intended, and in the only sense in which it really has to do with the faith, would be no error; (for the earth does not turn round the sun in *such* sense as to overthrow the Scripture in which the sun is said to turn round the earth, and to be arrested in his course, or to be brought back;) although in her manner of connecting this truth with physics, which are beyond her province, and in her immediate sense and intention in decreeing to be faith or heresy what was in its own nature neither, the Church would have been completely in error. And so, if the definition of transubstantiation by a severance of accidents from substance were decreed as a point of faith, the proposition decreed would necessarily be true so far as it really pertains to faith, though it might in respect of logical, metaphysical, or physical science, be altogether erroneous. If we were to call all that can by possibility fall under sense (that is, all that the world calls bread and

wine) "accidents," or "physical accidents," we might yet find a "substance" beyond (we could scarcely call it *physical* substance,) in that will of GOD in and by which every creature subsists, and is what it is, and what it is called. Thus bread is bread by the will of GOD; and if His will changes with respect to it, its substance is changed, and it is transubstantiated according to the change of His will, its accidents (that is, *all that the world calls bread*,) remaining, if it so please GOD, without that original will in which they before subsisted, and by which they were what is naturally called bread.

But the truth of the received explanation of transubstantiation, namely, that it is by a *physical change*, by the separation of *accidents* from *substance*, is still perhaps in strictness even within the Latin Church a point undetermined. The decree of Trent, though it requires all under pain of anathema to confess that there is a "conversion of the whole substance," yet does not add the word "*physical*," nor impose as of faith (supposing this in the nature of things to be possible,) that scholastic philosophy which by using the word "*substance*" it seems to recognize and to imply. And though the Catechism goes further, still, this not being the work of the Council, but only of the Pope, and not having the nature in every word and clause of a definition of faith, it does not follow that the belief of a severance of accidents from substance in the Eucharistic change (any more than the word *fire* in relation to Purgatory,) has become an article of faith for the Latins merely because it occurs in that Catechism, though it seems to be at present universally acquiesced in, as the best explanation that can be devised.

But among the Easterns this is not only regarded as an open question theoretically, (their Church having never so much as considered it in itself, and the Latin phraseology having been admitted only incidentally,) but it is open and controverted in fact. The explanation of the change by a severance of accidents from substance has been rejected, and is still rejected, by some of the most learned and most respected of the Clergy both in the Levant and in Russia: and it has been purposely avoided and corrected by the Russian Church herself both in her Catechism (where she allows and accepts from the *Orthodox Confession* the word "transubstantiation," but *omits* the explanation of it by

substance and accidents,) and in her authorized translation (which in this point and in one or two others is also a verbal modification) of the XVIII. Articles of the Synod of Bethlehem.

But if there is a real change, it may be asked, and that an inward not an outward change, what can there be to make any one who so believes suspect or disallow language which seems well fitted to express his belief? This question is natural, and deserves an answer.

First then it must be remembered that though the Fathers say that the bread and wine are "transmuted," and "trans-elemented," they say also that they are "transferred," "transfigured," and "transformed." And if our belief now is identical with that of the Fathers, it ought to come naturally to us not only to retain and to follow by imitation but even spontaneously to re-originate and to use all such forms of speech as were natural to them; and with the same proportions of relative frequency and emphasis. But now, if we adopt the Latin scholasticism, it will no longer come naturally to us to say "transfigured" or "transformed" at all: nor shall we be free from a certain dislike of such expressions when they meet us in the works of the ancient Fathers.

Again, the Fathers say indeed, and most frequently and with most emphasis, that the bread, or the substance or nature of bread, is changed into the Body of CHRIST: that before consecration it was bread, now it is bread no longer, but the very Body of CHRIST; and though our senses seem to tell us that it is still bread, yet in these Mysteries sense is not to be followed but faith. This sounds like a *physical* transmutation. But then the Fathers say also *secondly* on other occasions that in this food there are two things, or that this food is compounded of two things, (not the accidents of one thing and the substance of another, but two things,) one heavenly and the other earthly: which sounds like impanation, or an hypostatical union, or like the consubstantiation of the Lutherans. And *thirdly* they say also, though more rarely, that CHRIST made the bread to be His Body, that is, the figure of His Body; and that the bread does not depart from its proper nature: which sounds like the merely figurative sense of the Calvinists.

Now the Latins are not only prevented by their scholasticism

from understanding or reproducing, but are even forced to reject and condemn as erroneous or heretical the last two of the three abovementioned forms of speech: and the efforts which have been made to explain away, correct, or destroy such passages or writings of the Fathers as contain them prove clearly enough that they are felt to be a difficulty. But it is probable that the true doctrine of the Fathers would illustrate and harmonize all these three seemingly conflicting modes of expression, would unite them all together, and spontaneously reproduce them all in due proportion and on proper occasions.

Any one can see that the Calvinistic or Socinianizing Protestant who takes for his symbol the rare assertion of the Fathers that the Bread after consecration is a *figure* of CHRIST'S Body, to the exclusion of the other two forms of speech, has utterly departed from the faith of the Church. And the old Lutheran who takes for his symbol such expressions as that of Irenæus, that the Eucharist is compounded of two things, denying the *conversion* of the bread into the Body of CHRIST, does also no less clearly substitute for CHRIST'S words a new phraseology of his own, which cannot maintain itself, and which runs down inevitably into Calvinism. The Latins on the other hand, even though they reject two out of the three modes of speech used by the Fathers, yet do not seem like the Calvinists and the Lutherans to destroy the faith; because the propositions which they deny relate only to the bread, and not to the Body of CHRIST which is the true object of faith; and because they make scarcely any change even in the mere proportion of language, omitting only or rejecting expressions which are of comparatively rare occurrence, while the Lutheran and the Calvinist omit and reject that language which is the ordinary and necessary expression of the faith, and substitute in its stead the ordinary and exclusive use of language which in the Fathers is only rare and exceptional, and subordinated to a higher formula. Still, with all this, it is probable that the Latins also, so far as they deny or suppress any part of the language of the Fathers, do some damage to the analogy of faith.

It is true that they sometimes meet the difficulty in a fairer way than by the expurgation or mistranslation of the Fathers, and argue that when any of the ancients say that the bread and

wine, the εἶδη, (that is, kinds or species,) the natures, or even the substances, of bread and wine remain after consecration, they mean only what are now more correctly distinguished as the accidents. This explanation is by no means absurd or unworthy of attention: for the very words "εἶδος" and "*species*" used in the second intention to signify the kind, that is, the common nature or substance of bread, apart from the accidental peculiarities of any particular loaf or crumb, originally and etymologically mean *appearance*, the inner being or nature of things being known or guessed at (and that vaguely,) only from what appears, and being named therefrom. And when it is said that the bread remains "in substance," this is amplified by the addition of the words "both of its *shape* and *appearance*," (μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἶδους) which clearly relate to what are now called accidents. Still this view will not hold; because the language of the Fathers, though in the letter it may (like the words εἶδος and *species* themselves,) specify only what falls under sense, yet in its scope and intention reaches forward to and signifies under the name of what is sensible every thing beyond which is known to us only through the senses. And in some cases the whole force of the argument would be neutralized or reversed by the contrary supposition. For instance, when the heretic says that the human nature of CHRIST ceases to exist, having passed into deity, as the nature of bread ceases to exist in the Eucharist, having passed into the Body of CHRIST, and the orthodox replies that he is caught in his own net, for that in the Eucharist the nature of bread does *not* cease; it is impossible here to understand by the words "nature" or "bread" anything short of the very inmost physical substance, whatever that may be. For in whatever degree it were admitted that the nature of bread does pass into the Body of CHRIST so as to cease to be, in the same degree the assertion of the heretic would be admitted, and the form of the answer would be rendered improper. It would be nothing to the purpose of the heretic to reason from any thing but a cessation of the very *substance* of the bread to a cessation of the very substance of CHRIST's humanity, nor would it be to the purpose of the orthodox to retort with any thing else than the denial of the cessation alleged.

But further, it is not only with reference to the change of man's food in the Eucharist, but also with reference to the change of man himself in Baptism that we find the same three different forms of language, and in the same degrees of relative frequency and emphasis, used by the Fathers. For *first*, the Fathers say that we are in Baptism changed, transfigured, transformed, transmuted, transelemented: of which words (as the change is not outward and yet real,) the strongest, such as "transmuted" and "transelemented" (we might add "transubstantiated,") seem so far the most appropriate. The Fathers therefore using these say freely and ordinarily that the old man born of the flesh of Adam dies; that we are created anew and born again; that we are new creatures in CHRIST, members of His Body, of His bones and of His flesh; that the old man is put off, and is done away: all which sounds like a physical transmutation. But they say also *secondly* on other occasions, that in the Baptized Christian there are two natures, two lives, one from the first Adam and another from the second; and that the second Adam must contend against the first till the whole body of sin be abolished: and this sounds like a double personality, a sort of inhabitation or consubstantiation. And again *thirdly* they say, though more rarely, that the Baptized do not really die nor rise again, but by a figure are made partakers of CHRIST, and that they remain after Baptism the very same men, children of Adam, as before: which sounds like the merely figurative or "spiritual" interpretation of the Calvinists.

Now there is such a parallelism and relation between the change of the man himself and the change of his food in these two Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, and such an identity in the three forms of speech used by the Fathers both concerning the one and concerning the other, that he who asserts a physical transubstantiation or change of man's food in the Eucharist, and denies two forms of speech out of the three, ought in consistency to assert a like physical change of the man himself, and deny the two corresponding forms of speech out of the three in the case of Baptism. Or if any one does not say that the change of the man himself in Baptism is physical, so that his physical accidents remain miraculously suspended, and inherent in no subject, then neither should he say that the change of man's

food in the Eucharist is physical, nor that the physical accidents of the bread and of the wine remain miraculously suspended, and inherent in no subject.

Many perhaps have been so used to compare only the sanctification of the water of Baptism with the sanctification of the bread and wine in the Eucharist, that they will not readily feel the force of this parallelism, nor see that in a certain sense the doctrine of the Eucharist is capable of being evolved from the doctrine of Baptism by virtue of that correlation which exists between the life or living creature which needs food and the food that feeds it. This therefore may need some fuller statement or illustration.

Apart from any question of religion, we see by common sense and reason that there is a certain necessary relation between the nature or substance of all creatures which are said to be born or to live and the nature or substance of their food: and so between the thing, name, and idea of generation or *birth* and the thing name and idea of *food*. If a nature needing food was not in living creatures which are born, food could not be. That indeed which is now food might exist as matter, and might have some name in the speech of intellectual beings, but *food* it could not be either in name or idea: and if on the other hand food were not, the living creature whose nature needs food would be born only to die.

Now He who created man and the food of man (that is, the natures of bread and flesh, wine and water, consubstantial with man's nature) at the beginning, when He came to restore His ruined creature announced a new thing by a new name, a thing which we of ourselves could never have anticipated, and which we can never comprehend, the "*new birth*" of a man that is already born.

To natural reason this was either a mere metaphor and figure of speech, or a contradiction in terms, and a manifest impossibility. And so Nicodemus objected "How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter again a second time into his mother's womb, and be born?" But CHRIST answered not "I speak only figuratively;" but with a double asseveration repeated what He had said, "*Verily, verily:*" ("In very truth, in very truth":) and then only added, to remove misconception, that

this was not any such natural or carnal birth as Nicodemus understood, but a supernatural, heavenly, and spiritual birth, not of flesh but of spirit, that which is born of the flesh being flesh, and that which is born of the spirit being spirit, so that the two interfere not the one with the other.

Now if Nicodemus had simply accepted this announcement of our SAVIOUR, that a man already born is to be born again, then (without any knowledge of what was afterwards to be said at Capernaum, or to be instituted at Jerusalem, and practised and taught by the Church,) it would have been possible for him, as it would seem, from the mere force of the terms employed to reason thus: Birth looks forward to food: the man that is born, flesh of flesh, needs to be fed; and if not fed with food consubstantial with himself, he dies. If then there is a new birth, spirit of spirit, that birth too will probably require and look forward to a new food consubstantial with the new or spiritual creature that is born. If the man that is born is himself born again, and so changed into a new creature, it is probable that his food also will itself be made or created anew, and so changed into the new food of the new creature. If the man himself is born again not after any natural or fleshly way but of the spirit, his food also will be made anew into the new food not after any natural or fleshly way but of the spirit. If the man himself passing into spirit and having his essence changed, becoming what he was not and so far ceasing to be what he was, is still man, (that "spirit" of which he is born anew, though distinguished from "the flesh," having as it seems in some sense the nature of humanity, and being to them that are born anew as a second Adam,) then the food of man also passing into the new food which is spirit, and having its essence changed, becoming what it was not and ceasing so far to be what it was, will still be consubstantial with the spiritual humanity of the new man. If that which is born of the flesh is flesh and that which is born of the spirit is spirit, and yet not two men are named as united after the new birth but one man, then the earthly food also which is consubstantial with the flesh of the first Adam will be distinct from the spiritual food which is consubstantial with the new man who is spirit, and yet not two foods will be named as united after the change, but one food.

If the man that is born anew is still man, but in a higher and transcendental sense, the food also that is changed will still be susceptible of its former name, but in a higher and transcendental sense: the bread will have become bread indeed, and the drink drink indeed.

This reasoning, inferring from the mere force of the term "*new birth*" another analogous and dependent mystery of a *new food*, justifies also by anticipation on the subject of the new food all those three different modes of speech which the words of CHRIST Himself to Nicodemus have already introduced as appropriate and compatible with one another in respect of the new birth. It also explains in what sense each one of them is true, and in what sense each one of them is false.

For in the case of the new birth we have *first* that which is the object of faith not of sense, namely that which being born of spirit as of a second Adam is spirit; *secondly* that which is the object of sight and sense, namely the man that is already born, the flesh born of the flesh of the first Adam; and *thirdly* the union of these two in one and the same subject: for it is one and the same man who is born after the flesh and born again; who is changed of the SPIRIT into a new creature, and yet remains as to his flesh what he was before. In speaking of the first of these three things we may say that we are speaking "of the order of grace" which is supernatural, "not according to the flesh but according to the spirit:" in speaking of the second that we are speaking "naturally," "of the order of nature," or "according to the flesh:" in speaking of the third that we are speaking "of the two distinct orders of nature and grace conjointly," according to the "flesh" and according to the "spirit" at once. If we speak "according to the spirit" we shall say that the man that is born naturally of Adam's flesh, inasmuch as he is not said to be united to some other person or thing but is himself the subject of the new birth, is necessarily changed, and changed too inwardly and essentially, not sensibly or accidentally: we shall say that the old man is abolished, and done away; that he has passed into a new creature. But if anything like the misconception of Nicodemus, understanding after the flesh what is said after the spirit, causes us to look back to the order of nature, we shall say that "that which is born of

the flesh is flesh ;" and that though changed and born again spiritually and supernaturally, yet as to the flesh the man remains the same man (substance and accidents) as before. Or lastly, speaking of both orders of nature and grace conjointly, we may say that since that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit, there are in the man that is born anew two natures, and in a sense two men, one from the first Adam natural, earthly, and corruptible, the other from the second Adam supernatural, heavenly, and incorruptible, the "flesh" and the "spirit:" and these two do not interfere the one with the other.

In the same manner with respect to that new food which may be inferred from the new birth we shall have *first* the food which is the object of faith not sense, which is spirit consubstantial with that which is born of spirit, or with the spiritual humanity of the second Adam : *secondly* the food which is the object of sight and sense (bread, it may be, or flesh) consubstantial with the flesh of the first and natural Adam : and *thirdly* the union of these two in one and the same subject : for it is one and the same food which is made or created natural food, consubstantial with the flesh of Adam, and which afterwards is made or created anew of the spirit ; which is changed of the spirit into a new substance consubstantial with the spiritual humanity of the new man, and yet remains after the flesh what it was before. If we speak according to the spirit we shall say that the natural food, inasmuch as it is not said to be united to some other thing which is made spirit of spirit, but is said to become and to be itself the new food, will necessarily be changed ; and changed too inwardly and essentially, not outwardly or accidentally. We shall say that the natural food will have been done away, and will have ceased to be, that it will have passed into a new thing. But if any misconception (like that of Nicodemus respecting the new birth,) causes us to look back to the order of nature, to that which is after the flesh, we shall say that, though changed and created anew spiritually and supernaturally, yet according to the flesh, that is, according to the order of nature, and as to its natural substance, the food remains the same as before, and has by no means undergone any physical change ; as if bread or flesh were to return into the womb of their being and

to be *naturally* made anew into other bread or flesh either absolutely or at least as to their substance. Or lastly, speaking of the two orders of nature and grace conjointly, we may say that since that which is consubstantial with the flesh is flesh, and that which is consubstantial with the spirit (or with the new and spiritual humanity) is spirit, there are in the food that has been changed two things, an outward and an inward, and in a certain sense two foods, one consubstantial with the first Adam, natural, earthly, and corruptible, the other consubstantial with the second Adam, supernatural, heavenly, and incorruptible, the earthly food after the flesh and the spiritual food after the spirit : and these two will not interfere the one with the other.

We shall be able too to distinguish and anticipate three possible misconceptions and erroneous forms of speech respecting the new food corresponding with what are possible respecting the new birth. For *first*, a man may look to the order of nature or of the flesh, that is, to sight and sense only, so as to deny the truth of CHRIST's word, and the existence of the higher order of grace or spirit : and in this case he will say with Nicodemus "How can a man be born again?" and (by analogy) "How can his food be created anew, or pass into other natural bread or flesh from what it is? These things cannot be: and therefore they can only be said figuratively or metaphorically. The man remains unchanged, and his food remains unchanged." *Secondly*, thinking of the distinction between that which is born of the first birth and that which is born of the new birth, and between the old or ordinary and the new food, and yet seeing that the old and the new man, the ordinary and the new food, are respectively united in one and the same subject, he may so misconceive of this union as to make it a physical union in each case, by inherence or consubstantiation, a union of two natural substances under one and the same order instead of a union of two distinct orders in one subject. So he may think that there must be two men, two personalities, joined or compounded together under one appearance, denying that the natural man is (after the order of the spirit) really changed into, and becomes, and is a new man. And in like manner he may think that there must be some new food created and added to the natural food, and that these two foods are physically joined or compounded together

in, with, and under one appearance, denying that the natural food is changed, and passes into, and becomes, and is (after the order of the spirit) the new food, and that numerically there are not two foods but one food. Or *thirdly*, a man may so misconceive while looking to the supernatural order alone, as to think that the supervention of that which being born of spirit is spirit interferes *physically* with the continuance of that which having been born of the flesh is flesh : and that the supervention of the food consubstantial with the new man interferes physically with the continuance of the natural food. And in this case he will say that the *man* that is born again has even physically, or after the flesh, ceased to exist ; and that either absolutely (both substance and accidents,) or if not so, yet at least as to his *natural* substance, the accidents of which remain suspended and inherent in no subject. And in like manner he will say that the *food* that is created anew has even physically, or after the flesh, ceased to exist, and that if not as to its accidents, yet at least as to its natural substance, the accidents of which remain suspended and inherent in no subject.

The propriety of the three different forms of speech which may be justified from our LORD's words to Nicodemus concerning the new birth, and by analogy also concerning the new food, will be seen to consist in the preservation of the due distinction between the two orders of grace and nature, of the spirit and of the flesh, so that the one is neither confounded with the other nor denied because of the other. And the same three forms of language will be perceived to become each of them erroneous, so far as the contrary is the case : as when an *absence of change* which belongs only to the order of nature is insisted upon so as to exclude the change which belongs only to the order of grace : or *secondly* when a *union of two things* which may be asserted with truth only in respect of the two distinct orders conjoined is asserted in respect of one order alone, so as to subvert the numerical unity and identity of the man or of the food, and that change of each which is according to the spirit : or *lastly* when a *change* which belongs only to the order of spirit is insisted upon so as to subvert or exclude the order of nature. And of these three errors the first will directly subvert faith, and faith only ; the last, physical truth, and physical

truth only; while the second will subvert, but indirectly, both physical truth and faith.

That use which has been made above of the word "spirit" as distinguished from "flesh," and the contrast of what has been called the supernatural order, the order of grace, or spirit, to the order of nature, or of the flesh, and of the heavenly to the earthly, are clearly enough taught us by Holy Scripture. Of the new birth it is said "*That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit.*" And of the new food it might be anticipated even by analogy that it would be said "*It is the spirit that quickeneth: the flesh profiteth nothing.*" But yet this "*spirit*" which both in the new birth and the new food is thus opposed to the "*flesh*" contains in some sense (as has already been inferred above,) the human nature, a new human nature, identical with the old and yet new. For it is not any pure spirit, as the nature of angels, nor the incommunicable Divine essence, but something from which that which is born is still called "*man*," something which is to all those who are born anew into the kingdom of heaven as a second Adam, answering to the first Adam the father of all those who are born into the world. And subsequently to the time when CHRIST spoke with Nicodemus this has been explained to all, that as the first Adam (the unbegotten source of future natural generations after the flesh,) was made a living soul, so there is a second Adam (the unregenerated source of all future regenerations after the spirit,) who is a quickening Spirit: that as the first man is of the earth earthy, so there is a second man who is the LORD from heaven: and that the LORD is that Spirit. And CHRIST said by implication at least even to Nicodemus, that He is Himself the life of them that are born again, and by consequence also the food of their new life. So that the "spirit" which is contradistinguished from the "flesh" in the new birth and in the new food is CHRIST Himself, the Son of Man who came down from heaven and yet remained in heaven, who came down and was lifted up as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, and ascended up again visibly where He was before; the Word incarnate, God made communicable to man through the assumption of man's nature, God made flesh, God and man in one person, called "spirit" as contrasted with

"flesh" from the superiority of His higher nature and of His incorruptible and spiritualized humanity, yet communicating himself to that "flesh" with which He is contrasted as "spirit" through His own flesh which He had assumed from it: For otherwise He would have remained incommunicable.

So then *although* that which being born of the spirit is spirit is opposed to that which being born of the flesh is flesh, still, to be born again of the spirit will be to be transformed into CHRIST the second Adam, to be engrafted or incorporated into Him through His humanity (by the operation of the HOLY GHOST,) to put Him on, to be clothed with Him, to live with His life, to become a member of His *Body*, of His bones and of His *flesh*. The word "spirit" therefore in the new birth is not opposed to *all* flesh, but is identical with the flesh of CHRIST. And to be fed after the new birth with that new food which is spirit and life, and which is opposed to "the flesh which profiteth nothing," will be to be fed with the eternal Bread of Life through the Incarnation, that is, with the flesh and blood of that sacrifice which shall have been offered for us, with that Flesh which is meat indeed, and with that Blood which is drink indeed, in which alone is the communicable and true life. The word "spirit" therefore in the new food also will not be opposed to *all* flesh, but is identical with the flesh of CHRIST.

The supposition that such inferences as these might have been in themselves possible even for one versed only in the Hebrew Scriptures like Nicodemus may be justified perhaps by those words of our SAVIOUR, "*Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?*" And if so, and if the inferences are in themselves legitimate, it is unnecessary to use many words to point out how they are illustrated and confirmed by what was subsequently said at Capernaum concerning the spiritual or heavenly "Bread of God" and the "spirit" as distinguished from the "meat that perisheth," and from the "flesh that profiteth nothing;" by the actual institution of both the Sacraments of the New Birth and the New Food; by the selection of the natural food of man, bread and wine, to become the spiritual food; by the continued use of both these Sacraments in the Church for the beginning and the continuance of

spiritual life from the Day of Pentecost to the present day ; by the occurrence in the writings of the Fathers of all those three modes of speech respecting each of these two Mysteries which have been shown on grounds of antecedent propriety to be admissible ; by the existence either in reference to the new birth or to the new food, or to both, of all those three corresponding errors which have been shown to be possible ; and by the close parallelism which in all these respects is noticeable between the two Sacraments, corresponding to that antecedent correlativeness which exists between the living creature itself that is born and the food that is made to sustain its life.

But as some can believe nothing to be *real* which is called "*spiritual*," while to others it may still seem paradoxical first to name the new life and the new food "*spirit*," opposing them to "*flesh*," and then to interpret this spirit itself to be flesh, and flesh too literally assumed from our own, it may be well to add something to show more clearly the transcendent reality of these mysteries, the words for expressing which, though irreconcilable to carnal reason, (for we certainly cannot *comprehend* how one thing is changed into another and yet remains what it was before, nor how the natural flesh which is contrasted with spirit and the spirit which yet is flesh are one in CHRIST,) have not been invented by man, but have been given to us from the mouth of CHRIST Himself and by the HOLY GHOST.

Now we know that the outer world was made with such a correspondence to man's nature and senses, and both the world and man himself with such a correspondence to the attributes of the Creator, as to make it possible for man through ideas obtained from the outer world to rise to a perception of spiritual and heavenly things : which could not have been unless God had placed a certain likeness and analogy between spiritual or heavenly things and the things of the natural creation. And wherever there is imitation the picture or likeness is of course for the sake of the original, not the original for the sake of the picture : and if they are both called by the same name, it is not the picture but the original to which the name in strictness belongs. And though the picture in itself may be called a reality as distinguished from the mere perception or immediate idea which it excites in our eye or mind, and even as distinguished from

any remoter idea of an original otherwise unknown to us which it may suggest, still if the picture be compared not with any mere idea immediately or remotely excited in us, but with the original itself, then, in like manner as the picture is said to be a real thing as distinguished from any impression, likeness, idea, or notion derived from it, so the original from which the picture has been taken must be said to be a reality rather than the picture itself. Thus, for instance, if the sun in the material heavens, inaccessible itself to the eye, but emitting light, and heat through and in the light, to enlighten and vivify all things, has been made purposely to be an image, its original must be the *truer* sun. We know too that wherever there is method, growth, and system, the beginning is for the sake of the end, the former things for the latter, the lower for the higher, the lesser for the greater, the part for the whole, the imperfect for the perfect, the preparatory or the instrumental for the complete and abiding. The seed and the bud are for the flower and the fruit. The elements and the lower creatures are for the sake of man: the child for the sake of the grown man: the individual man for the sake of the city or community: the creature itself for the sake of the Creator. And that which is last in execution is first in idea, and when realized in fact is more real than any thing which may have been for its sake. And if in any case the same name belongs to that which is subordinate and inchoate as to that which is final and perfect, it belongs most properly and strictly, originally, and finally, to the latter, but to the former only for the sake of and in respect of the latter. Thus the name of "*man*" or *humanity* may belong also to the child or to the woman, but most strictly and properly it belongs to the man.

These two principles being borne in mind, we may see that if it was in the Divine counsels that the Word, the consubstantial Ray of the true Sun, should assume to Himself a body from the dust, and not directly from the dust but from a creature made a little lower than the angels, in order to combat in a manner worthy of God the pride and rebellion of Satan, it follows that the elements, and the dust itself, and the human creature made from the dust, must have been from the beginning created and prepared in subordination to that Divine purpose. And so the Word In-

carnate must be the *true* and prototypal *Adam*, from whence the subordinate and preparatory, that is, the natural Adam had both his nature and his name. And if there was to be any gradual process of change and growth and improvement in humanity itself, (like the change from childhood to manhood in the individual,) that is to say, from the humanity of Adam, whether before or after the fall, and of his natural posterity, to that of CHRIST the second Adam, in Whom that nature is restored and united (in a far higher sense than before the fall) to God; and again from the humanity of CHRIST Himself as it was "in the days of His flesh," suffering and dishonoured, and like in all things to that of sinful and mortal men, sin only excepted, to the same humanity glorified, spiritualized, and deified, (without however being absorbed, or ceasing truly to exist,) then hence also it follows that the truest, most real, and prototypal *man* is CHRIST, and CHRIST as glorified, when His human nature has attained its perfect and permanent state. And this being so, His Body was not less but rather more truly and properly a human body when it was so sublimated after the resurrection that it seemed gifted with the properties of spirit, appearing and disappearing, showing itself in different aspects, passing through unopened doors, living with an open wound pierced through the side to the heart, and ascending visibly in the clouds of heaven. And again, after His ascension to the FATHER, CHRIST's Body in its glorified state, His Flesh and His Blood, is not a modification, a qualification, an absorption (as the Monophysites blaspheme,) of the humanity of the first Adam: but the humanity of the first Adam, and CHRIST's own body "after the flesh" in its state of change and humiliation on earth, were rather beginnings, preparations, advances, towards CHRIST's glorified Body. The first Adam was made and named with a view to this, and for the sake of this, and from this, not this from the first Adam.

Again, to reason from the relation of symbols and pictures to the greater reality of things signified or represented: Almost every thing that was made or written of the visible creation, and under the older and less perfect dispensations, besides being preparatory and instrumentally subordinate, was also significative and symbolical of something answering to it in a future and spiritual creation, into which the first was to pass. For as men

paint with colours, to give an idea of things in strange countries, so God paints with things and persons and events, to give to His children notions of heavenly and supernatural things. And to say nothing of the preceding stages of creation, when Adam was created from the virgin earth, not begotten like other men his posterity, nor produced, one of many, from the earth like the lower animals, but fashioned by God Himself, single and alone, to be the sole source and father of the human race, this was to symbolize the birth of a second, the true Adam, from the Virgin, to be the father of the world to come. When God, Who could have made plants and animals and men without sex or generation, made man male and female, and united them in marriage, this was to subserve, and also to symbolize, a mystery connected with the Incarnation. When He who could have made the woman directly from the ground as easily as He had made the man caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and took one of his ribs, and made thereof a woman, and brought her unto the man; and Adam said, This is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called woman because she was taken out of man: this was done to symbolize the formation of another Eve from the side of the second Adam. For CHRIST also slept a deep sleep on the Cross, and His side was pierced, and there came out blood and water, two sacraments for the formation of the CHURCH, which is His Body and His Spouse. When God Who could have multiplied mankind in other ways willed that they should have the beginning of life from a single pair by generation and "*birth*," this was to subserve and symbolize a higher and truer *birth* of heavenly and incorruptible seed, which thus became intelligible, and capable of being named by us. When the Giver of life, Who could have maintained in His creatures the life begun by *birth* in some other way, willed that their life should need the sustenance of *food*, and created and named certain kinds of food to be correlative to the life of that which is born, this was to subserve and symbolize a higher and truer *food*, which thus became intelligible, and capable of being named by us. If man had not been made to live by food, the words *food* and *bread* could not have existed: nor could the knowledge have been conveyed as now to man, that the spiritual essences of God's creation live by some

mysterious communication of nourishment from the Divine Word as in this natural world men and animals and plants are naturally fed to the support of their natural life. But man being made to live by bread and water and wine could so understand by likeness or analogy the truth that the Eternal Word is both the bread of angels, and also his own "spiritual bread," his "water of life." If after the fall sacrifice of innocent and clean beasts was instituted, this in all its circumstances and varieties was to foreshadow, prepare for, and render intelligible, the one true and sufficient sacrifice foreordained for sins. If the sacrificers were clothed by God with the skins of the victims, this was to signify the spiritual putting on of the fleece of the Lamb of God, that is, of the righteousness of the promised REDEEMER. If not bread only, as before, but the flesh also of creatures offered in sacrifice was now to be eaten by man, and joined with bread, this was to signify that man alienated from God could never eat the spiritual bread till He who is the "quickening Spirit" and also the "Living Bread" should come down from heaven and be made flesh, and having been sacrificed for us should give to as many as have been born again the flesh of His sacrifice to be the sustenance of their new life. If the blood of the first sacrifices, in which was the life of the victims, was not to be drunk but poured on the ground, this was to show that man subject to death for his own sin could be profited neither by the death nor by the life of other creatures; and that the eating of the flesh of those sacrifices was only a figure, and imperfect, looking forward to another and truer sacrifice, in which bread and flesh should be one thing, and from which not only the flesh should be eaten but also the blood in which is life, and communicable life, should be drunk by those for whom the sacrifice should be offered.

And so, if all these things in the first natural and transient creation were not only rudiments preparatory and subordinate, but also types and symbols of other archetypal things answering to them in the new or spiritual and supernatural creation of CHRIST the second Adam and His Church, it follows, as has been said above, (and that for the double reason both of their being subordinate, and also of their being symbolical,) that the things of the first creation, of the order of nature, or of the

flesh, are less realities (if there can be degrees of reality,) than the things of the new creation, or of the order of grace and spirit. The formation of the second Adam by God Himself, the formation of the second Eve, the Church, from the side of the second Adam, the prototypal sacrifice, the new birth by the change of the old creature into the new, the bread from heaven by the change of the natural food into that which is food indeed, the eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the prototypal sacrifice, the participation of the very substance of the second Adam, are as much higher and truer realities than those things in the old creation which prepared for them and symbolized them, as the grown man is more properly a man than an infant or an embryo, or than a picture which is called by his name. If we are forced to make distinctions and degrees of reality, then certainly the things of the natural order, of the flesh, are the unrealities and the shadows rather than the things of the spirit.

Yet the things of the natural order, rudimentary and symbolical as they are, are so real that it is from them we have our only ideas of solidity and reality. We have no doubt that Adam really existed, and that Eve was really formed from his side: We have no doubt that bread, and flesh, and wine, and water, are real things, consubstantial with the nature of Adam, and rightly called food capable of sustaining life: There is no doubt that the children of Adam and Eve really offered real sacrifices, and really were clothed with the skins of those sacrifices, and really ate of their flesh with bread: We ourselves do not doubt, any one of us, of our own existence: we have most *certainly* been born *naturally* of Adam's real flesh and blood, children of wrath, and inheritors of death: there is no doubt that we have been born; there can be no doubt that we shall die: these things are realities and certainties if any things are: We admit too that the Incarnation of the Son of God is a reality, and no mere figure: that He who is spirit was made flesh of our natural flesh, and united in one person the two orders of the spirit and the flesh, the supernatural and the natural, without prejudice to the unity of His person; being born, and living, and being fed with our natural food: We admit that His sacrifice of Himself upon the Cross, His death, and resurrection, and ascension, and the glorification of His human nature, so as to be no longer

a natural body as in the days of His flesh, but a spiritual body, are all realities. But if by a true and real participation of Adam's nature we are truly liable to death, we must also have a true and real participation of the substance of CHRIST the second Adam, if we are truly to live again. Else, if we partake of CHRIST only in a figure, we shall live again only in a figure. But flesh and blood, the Apostle declares, cannot inherit the kingdom of God : neither doth corruption inherit incorruption. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body. And so it is written, The first man Adam was made a living soul ; the last Adam is a quickening spirit. Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth, earthy ; the second man is the LORD from heaven. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy ; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. For that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly. This participation then of the substance of CHRIST the second Adam by our regeneration in Baptism, and by our nourishment afterwards through the transmutation of our natural food of bread and wine into His body and blood in the Eucharist, is to us, and ought ever to be considered and spoken of by us, as the greatest of all realities. And the transmutation of the bread and wine is no more made to be less real by the continuance "after the flesh" of the bread and wine, than is our own transmutation and new birth less real because it is not according to the flesh but according to the spirit ; or because we remain after our natural substance what we were before.

DISSERTATION XV.

OF THE NECESSITY OF CONFESSION TO A PRIEST.

ANOTHER error or corruption imputed by Protestants and by Anglicans to the Eastern Church is this, that, like the Roman, she requires all her members, from the age of discretion, to confess their sins to a Priest at the least once a year. It is said, and with truth, that in the first ages of Christianity there was no such obligation.

Grounding themselves upon this view of antiquity, the Protestants and the Anglicans have either abolished the Confession of secret sins altogether, or have made it optional: and they tacitly assume that that state of things which in the present day results as a necessary consequence from their abolition of the law of Confession is agreeable to antiquity and to the Gospel.

But the truth is directly the reverse. The existing tradition and practice among Anglicans and Protestants with regard to the participation of the Holy Communion is manifestly much more unlike what prevailed in the primitive Church than is the existing tradition and practice among the Roman-Catholics and the Easterns. So that if antiquity is to be followed, and it is impossible to reproduce antiquity exactly, but we must choose between the so-called corruption and the so-called reformation, every serious person ought at once to submit to the discipline of the Romans and the Greeks as being the nearer approach to antiquity of the two.

For among the Anglicans (to say nothing of those Protestants who are mere sectaries,) the Church exists as a visible society only thus far, that there is an outward form of *admission*, namely Baptism,) which is administered to those who are first allowed and approved, and pledged to renounce certain things and to

do certain other things for the future. But beyond this the Church with them cannot be said to be in strictness a society. For the participation of the Eucharist being the badge of membership, this is given indiscriminately and without question to all who approach to take it: not only to regularly admitted members, who continue to believe a certain prescribed faith and to avoid certain sins, but also to multitudes who either individually or in the mass are known to be destitute of those qualifications; to many who have never been admitted at all, and who so are not even fallen members, who are professed followers of other creeds or denominations, who perhaps have not even been Baptized. So the Church is like a house without doors, or like a field uninclosed, into which every thing that moves can enter, and go in and out, and feed itself without hindrance. This passivity of Communion it is which is now defended from the Gospel and from the primitive Church, because the primitive Church had not as yet imposed a law of annual Confession, or of Confession at all, as a preparation for Communion.

But in primitive times from various causes those who had not the right to Communicate dared not attempt to join themselves to the Church. Judgments such as fell on Ananias and Sapphira, together with the severities of public penance imposed on all who were known to have lapsed, made them that had lapsed secretly feel that they could not restore themselves, and led them voluntarily to confess their sins, and to seek to have penance imposed for them. So there was no need then that the Church should either suspect any large proportion of her members of having secretly lapsed, or require all to do what only a few needed, and what they who needed it, when repentant, were upon the whole forward to do of themselves.

But when with the Roman Empire the world had entered into the Church, and the general standard of religion among Christians had come to be much lower, and Communion much less frequent, so that there was danger that very many of those that would seek to make their Easter Communion might have fallen into excommunicable sins, it was necessary for the Church either tacitly to allow the principle that such sinners may rightly be left to judge of their own penitence, and to take to themselves the pardon of God, and, as a consequence, the outward

Sacraments, by an inward act of their own minds, or else to call all before her, and ascertain by questioning whether each one had not fallen, and in the case of as many as had fallen whether there was in her judgment sufficient penitence to justify her in absolving them and admitting them to the Holy Communion. This latter alternative is that which was adopted. And so the growth of the custom of Confessing to a Priest as a preparation for Communion, and afterwards the enforcement of the same, was not any mere addition or innovation : but it was a reparation, compensation, or equivalent, added at one point of the Ecclesiastical system to make up for what was being lost at another, and to preserve as far as possible under the change of circumstances the essential proportions of the whole.

That essential doctrine in which the ancient and the modern Church is one, and in which it differs from all Protestant and Reformed communities, is this, that the Church and the Sacraments of the Church are, like man himself, compounded of body and spirit ; and that the body of them, though inferior and for the sake of the spirit, is yet so necessary that it is made by God to be the instrument and channel of His gifts ; so that except through their outward parts we can neither possess ordinarily, nor even conceive or name the distinctions and relations of spiritual things. This being the case, the man living in the body who has sinned in the body (For it was with the hand and mouth that he plucked and ate of the forbidden fruit,) confesses outwardly his sin, recites outwardly a definite creed, and is admitted by an outward rite into fellowship with an outward community, and to the participation of certain outward privileges of membership, on the condition of abstaining from certain outward acts named by the law of God and by the canons of the outward community as incompatible with its fellowship. If any man after having been admitted fails to keep his pledge, and his fall be known to the congregation, *their* knowledge of it imposes upon *them* the duty of "putting away from themselves that wicked person." But if his fall be known as yet only to himself, *his* knowledge or consciousness of it imposes upon *him* the duty of abstaining from any surreptitious participation in those privileges to which he knows he has no right. Common sense and honesty, if unperverted by any false tra-

dition or custom, (to say nothing of religious fear,) must teach him that, whatever might be said of any merely mental sin not cognizable by the outward Church, yet in the case of overt acts involving outward excommunication he cannot have a right to judge of the sufficiency of his own repentance, nor to readmit himself to bodily sacraments, after a bodily loss of his right to them, by a merely inward act of his own mind; whereas, if his sin by any accident were to become known afterwards, his opinion of his own penitence and the fact that he had presumed to take the Sacraments in virtue of that opinion could avail nothing to exempt him from being excommunicated, and from having to perform the full term of canonical penance.

This doctrine, therefore, has ever been held by the Church, and most of all at the very beginning, that so far as the hierarchy has "bound" any thing "on earth," (whether by proscribing certain outward sins on account of their inherent deadliness and incompatibility with the Body of CHRIST, or by enforcing its own lawful commands or prohibitions by the penalty of excommunication,) a lapse into such sins or offences incapacitates the transgressor for participation in the Holy Communion until he has submitted himself to penance, and has obtained Absolution, that is, until he has been loosed from his bond by that sacramental power which imposed it. But the true novelty and corruption, or rather heresy and utter destruction of the sacramental body of the Church, is the doctrine that they who have committed acts of sin worthy of excommunication, so long as the act remains secret, and the sinner thinks himself sufficiently penitent, may rightly "quiet their own consciences," and take to themselves the Holy Communion as if they had not fallen; and that the Church is not obliged to teach men otherwise.

The identity in principle of the primitive and the modern discipline respecting Confession and Absolution being once perceived, there will be little difficulty in tracing the origin and explaining the grounds of those gradual changes by which the modern system has come to differ so greatly, as it must be admitted to differ *in details*, from the ancient.

At the very beginning the Church would naturally anticipate or contemplate sin in Baptized Christians, among "the brethren"

and "the saints," as little as possible: and the earliest catalogue of excommunicable sins may have been briefly summed up in the Apostolic Canon sent to the first Gentile converts under the three heads of *idolatry, uncleanness, and blood*.

As time went on, and particular cases of sin were forced upon the notice of the Church, the Canons would become more full and explicit both concerning the varieties of sins referable to the three abovementioned heads, and concerning others for which at first there was no specified penance.

Further additions would accrue from the positive legislation of the Church herself, which would begin to enforce her discipline and her customs by excommunication, in proportion as she saw need for such exercise of authority.

But if at any particular time in early ages certain sins are mentioned by any Father as not needing to be confessed to the Church or to a Priest which in later times would need to be confessed, this fact by no means shows that at the time in question *no* secret sins were held to need confession. Nor because after *some* sins men were then free to continue to Communicate if only inwardly penitent, (though they were in all cases encouraged to confess to a Priest,) does it therefore follow that they understood themselves to have in *all* cases alike the same liberty of either confessing only to God or to the Priest also according to their own discretion.

The gradual transition of the public Discipline into the system of private Confession and Absolution would also necessarily tend to increase the number of sins held to need confession, and to introduce a facility for the same person to obtain many times penance and absolution: so that instead of being a single plank after shipwreck, a single outward restoration allowed once only to them that had lapsed after Baptism, as in the earliest times, Confession, Penance, and Absolution came to be rather an ordinary training from imperfection towards perfection, and even from *habits* of mortal sin towards habitual contrition and correction.

Again, when partly from the general deterioration of morals and infrequency of Communion, and partly from Confession having already become a custom, the Church imposed a law on all her members (whether guilty of excommunicable sins or not)

to Confess themselves to a Priest at least once a year, this change would have a powerful tendency to increase both the frequency and the minuteness of Confession. For though at first the prescribed form was (as it still is in the Eastern Church,) nothing else than an interrogatory or examination by the Priest, thus: "*Tell me, my son, hast thou not done so or so?*" going through the catalogue of excommunicable sins, so that if the penitent were free from all these there would seem to be no confession required, nor penance to be imposed, nor absolution to be given, still, when once a Christian had been brought by the Church before his Confessor, it would seem unnatural and contrary to the spirit of humility and compunction to go away as if justified, and to Communicate as if of right, merely because by God's grace he had been preserved free from excommunicable sins. It would be natural rather, and inevitable, that the more perfect Christians should acknowledge themselves to be sinners no less than others, confessing all sins whatever, even venial, which they found on their consciences, and using the prescribed discipline of periodical Confession in the same way as they might in earlier times have used voluntary Confession in cases where it was not required.

And when the matter had reached this stage, it would be natural that penitents (apart from their own readiness to go beyond the rule in accusing themselves rather than fall short of it,) should be held to be bound to confess not only such sins as were named by the Canons as outwardly mortal, that is, as incurring excommunication, but also all such others as seemed to be equivalent to these in inward guilt, even though not named, nor perhaps capable of being named by any canons of discipline. Thus confession of inwardly mortal sins which had no place of public penitence, and the confession of which was optional in early times, came to be included under the public Discipline: and the benefit of what is now called spiritual Direction, which in early times it needed a special effort of piety to seek and find, is now offered systematically to all in conjunction with the prescribed use of Confession, out of which it naturally arises.

It is true that as in early times not even the severity of public penances, nor the abundance of sanctity within the Church, nor

the visible separation of the unbelieving immoral and persecuting world, could prevent the gradual declension of Christian faith and charity, so neither now can the discipline of Confession established in the Latin and in the Greek Church prevent the declension of nations and societies to any conceivable degree of general immorality and wickedness; and that too not only in conjunction with open rebellion against discipline, but also in conjunction with its formal observance. This downward tendency even in the Christian society is a mystery which no man can fathom. But lest it should shake our faith, it has been foretold from the beginning that it should be so: That like the antediluvian world, like the cities of the plain, like the nations of Canaan, like the kingdoms of Israel and Judah before the destruction of the first Temple, and like the Jewish people before the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, so also the Christian world is to become in the apparent majority of its members and in its public character an apostacy before the return of CHRIST to judgment, when the earth with the works that are in it shall be burned up. It is not till the ungodly shall be green as the grass, and when all the workers of iniquity flourish, that they shall be destroyed for ever. This permitted development and prevalence of evil therefore neither the discipline of Confession nor any other sacraments or checks of the Church can overcome. Rather, like other sacred things, and like other customs intended by the Church for good, the custom of habitual Confession is capable of becoming a snare and an opiate, concealing from the Christian society and from individuals the depth of their own lapse, and conducing to the destruction of them that perish. But to those that are fallen indeed but capable of real restoration it is a most blessed medicine and safeguard: and to them that are preserved from mortal sins it is a most profitable assistance in the way of perfection.

It is liable, no doubt, to particular abuses, and may sometimes have become the occasion of scandals. But all good things are liable to abuse: and the abuse of that which is best is most pernicious, according to the proverb. A traitor among the Apostles, or a reprobate among the Christian clergy, are no doubt the very masterworks of Satan; but it is no argument that the Apostolate or the Priesthood are evil in themselves, because

through their existence such enormity of wickedness is possible. Rather on the contrary, if the thing in itself be good, the intensity of the evil which arises from its abuse or perversion is a sign of the degree of its goodness. And so if the discipline of Confession be good in itself, the magnitude of any particular scandals which have been connected with it can cause no just prejudice against it, but on the contrary is rather a sign of its preeminent value and importance. Whatever such scandals there may have been in later ages, and more especially in the Western Church, whether in respect of some rare cases of individuals or of social laxity and corruption, they have been dwelt upon and exaggerated beyond measure by Protestants: and their prejudice and heat on this subject seem to border upon madness. Or rather it is a special delusion of the enemy to set men against that medicine of all others which they most need. But if any man be capable of inquiring seriously and dispassionately whether the discipline of Confession as it exists among the Roman-Catholics and the Easterns be upon the whole a good thing or a bad, training men and women to purity or to impurity, to religion or to irreligion, to heaven or to hell, he has only to attend, and to mark what is the testimony of those witnesses which are of all witnesses the most irrecusable, and the most nearly concerned; of the best people he can find among his Roman-Catholic or Orthodox acquaintances on the one hand, and of the worst he knows on the other. The former will tell him that it is a blessed instrument for the salvation of souls. But the latter, the representatives of the devil, the world and the flesh, what do these say of the Confessional? Do they like it? Do they frequent it? Do they amuse themselves with it? If they do, then perhaps the religious public among Protestants may be justified in bestowing upon it as much blame, and much more indignation than they bestow upon the Theatre or the Opera, and on whatever is behind the scenes of these and other public amusements. But the inhabitants of a city in which there are said to be so many thousands of their fellow-creatures living by prostitution are too pure to be questioned in the church by a Priest about sins which so many of them commit, and which so many more must indirectly (consciously or unconsciously) encourage. They are too delicate to hear any mention of sins of

impurity even from the law of God, even though joined not with incentives to sensuality, as in their own fine arts and literature, but with the most terrible threatenings of the vengeance of eternal fire, and with the most moving encouragements to purity and virtue. Such is the delicacy of Sodom, the purity of Gomorrha.

DISSERTATION XVI.

ON THE SEPTENARY NUMBER OF THE MYSTERIES OR SACRAMENTS.

It is objected against the Eastern Orthodox Church by Protestants, and sometimes by Anglicans, that she has adopted from the Roman Church the doctrine that the Sacraments are Seven in number, which is called one of the errors of Popery.

It is true that this doctrine, or rather this mode of speech, was unknown to the ancients. But on the other hand when Protestants teach that the Sacraments are two, or two only, they introduce a number and a limitation which were just as little known to the ancients as the number Seven.

In holy Scripture and in the writings of the Fathers very many things are called mysteries or sacraments, and in various senses and respects, which may all perhaps be reduced under the general idea of a holy thing which is hidden. This general undefined use of the words "*sacrament*" and "*mystery*" is still current among both Greeks and Latins notwithstanding their introduction of the doctrine that the Sacraments or Mysteries are Seven. But among the Protestants and Anglicans the same is not the case. Among them the Greek word "*mystery*" alone retains its ancient latitude of signification, while the corresponding Latin word "*sacrament*" is rigidly confined, according to an arbitrary definition, to the two great Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist.

When a Greek or a Russian first hears it objected against his Church that she teaches Seven Sacraments, he imagines that the very existence and use of some one or more of the seven is attacked; or that at least it is denied that they each convey to such as rightly receive them a special grace of their own, and

are more than mere outward symbols or rites. But if it be admitted that any one of the other five besides Baptism and the Eucharist (as for instance that Ordination, Confirmation, or Absolution) does convey grace, this is to him a full admission that it is a Sacrament. And if it be admitted (as some Anglicans will admit) that all the seven carry with them an accompanying grace, he will perhaps say "So then it seems that our Church always had seven Sacraments, and the Latins have counted them for us. And if they have counted aright, what error is it that we assent, and say after them, Yes; the Sacraments or Mysteries are seven?"

On the other hand, if the Protestant or the Anglican be required to put his own doctrine, that the Sacraments are two, or two only, into Greek, he will at first perhaps be a little startled at the plain absurdity or novelty, even for himself, of asserting that there are only two mysteries, or that "the Mysteries" are two only: (*"Δύο ἐστὶ μόνον τὰ Μυστήρια"*) but after a moment's hesitation he will yield to necessity, and will attempt to confine the Greek word also, as well as the Latin, within the limits of his own arbitrary definition.

It would be more rational, instead of disputing about the mere definition of a word, to perceive that whether the Greeks and Latins on the one side, or the Anglicans on the other, be rather right of the two, there is probably some truth underlying both their modes of speech. And if we examine what this truth is in each case, we shall be better able to judge whether there is any exaggeration or distortion on either side; whether the two modes of speech agree in sense, and are simply compatible the one with the other, or, if not so, which of them must in reason yield to the other.

What then was it, let us ask, which moved the Latin schoolmen of the middle ages, from the time of Peter Lombard, to pick out and count from the innumerable sacraments of Christianity neither more nor less than seven, and to call those seven emphatically and in a technical sense "the Sacraments?" And what was it which moved the later Greeks, in spite of their separation and their jealousy, so readily to accept from the Latins a doctrine and mode of speech which was unknown to their Fathers? The motives which we inquire after seem to have been these two:

First, there was a predisposition to look for the number *seven* in all things connected with the operation of the sevenfold Divine Spirit. And so it would seem antecedently probable that the chief Mysteries or sacramental rites of Christianity should be seven in number, even before the mind of the theologian had considered the relation of particular Mysteries to one another, or settled what the seven must be. Such a predisposition may be observed at the present day among the Nestorians of Kurdistan, and among some of the Monophysites, who have heard from Roman missionaries that the Sacraments are seven, and have relished and accepted this information, though they have not as yet learned how to count the seven aright.

Secondly, the schoolmen of the middle ages perceived (and the modern Greeks agree with them in perceiving) the existence of such a mutual relation and connection between certain seven sacred Mysteries as separated them off from all others, and united them together into one system. For in the Christian Church there is need first of *Marriage*, in order to the natural birth of living souls. For unless men are born into the world of the flesh they cannot be born again of the spirit. This is *one* Mystery. Secondly, after natural birth, there is the Mystery of the new birth, *Baptism*, which alone is mentioned in the Creed because it draws after it all the rest. Thirdly, after a man has been born again, he needs a certain quickening and strengthening of his spiritual life, even as the natural life which was at first without consciousness, latent and dormant, is afterwards awakened into energy and strength. And for this there is another Mystery of *Chrism* or *Confirmation*, the Seal of the Gift of the HOLY GHOST. But after life has been given by birth, and that which is born has been quickened into consciousness and energy, there is need of food to support life. The Mystery therefore of Baptism or spiritual birth implies and requires another Mystery (which will be a *fourth*,) of a new and spiritual food. This is the *Eucharist*. But if the spiritual life given by Baptism and nourished by the Eucharist is impaired by any spiritual sickness, (according to the analogy of the natural life,) so that food is no longer allowable or nutritious, there will be need of some spiritual medicine, which is a *fifth* Mystery, that of *Penitence and Absolution*. Again, if the body which is united to the regenerate

soul, and which is to be raised from the dead, suffers any sickness in consequence of sin, (whether such consequence be only general and remote, or special,) there will be place for another Mystery, a *sixth*, for the healing of the body so far as it is afflicted through sin, and for the remission of sin so far as it affects the body. This is the *Unction of the Sick with Prayer*. And lastly, that there may be Clergy to confer all these preceding Mysteries, there still needs one more, a *seventh*, that of *Priesthood* or *Order*.

Or we might have begun with the Mystery of Priesthood, since in order of time it must precede the sacerdotal ministration of all the rest. And it was not till the Apostles had received for themselves all Sacraments at once in their Baptism of fire, and among them the grace of the Priesthood, that they began to Baptize converts, and to Confirm them by Laying on of Hands, and to feed them spiritually with the Eucharist, and to restore fallen penitents by Absolution, and to lay their hands on the sick, praying over them and Anointing them with oil, for their recovery, and that the Church might continue and increase through children being born for Baptism, to bless the union of Christian Marriage, and to reproduce by Ordination of Clergy the grace of Priesthood in their successors, to continue the same cycle of ordinary sacramental ministrations from generation to generation.

Whether we begin from Ordination and end with Marriage, or begin from Marriage and end with Ordination, the order of the intermediate five Mysteries in virtue of their mutual connection will be the same: and the Eucharist will in both cases alike be the *fourth*, the central and culminating Mystery of the Seven.

These Seven have ever existed in the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East and West; and have been preserved in the ancient but heretical communities of the Nestorians and the Monophysites from the time of their separation in the fifth century. They have been preserved too in the Anglican Church which was separated from the Roman-Catholic Communion in the sixteenth century, though in this latter case with some considerable mutilations. Nay, even in the sects of the Protestants and the Reformed, or in most of them, there remain such fragments or traces of them all, that even to their members we may be intelligible when we say that these Seven are the great external

acts of religion ; the generative, strengthening, sustaining, reparative, and perpetuative acts, joints, and bands of visible Christianity ; through which by the concurrence of Divine grace the invisible and spiritual body of the Church is generated, nourished, repaired, and increased. From these Seven no one can be taken away, so as to leave only six ; nor can any other be added to them, so as to increase their number to eight.

Thus the truth and propriety of the assertion that the Sacraments or Mysteries are Seven lies not merely in the fact that in each one of the seven taken by itself there is something hidden, beyond what meets the senses ; that there is an outward symbol or rite or act accompanied by an inward spiritual grace ; and that each one of them is necessary or important towards the being or edification of the Church ; but rather in their mutual relation and connexion. It is in virtue of this mutual relation that each one of the seven is truly reckoned as one Mystery with regard to the rest, though some of them are in fact in themselves complex, others only single Mysteries. The Eucharist, for instance, is compounded of two distinct mysteries, one of the Body, the other of the Blood : and Priesthood contains within itself a separate mystery in each of the Holy Orders. But with respect to the spiritual *birth* the spiritual *food*, though subdivisible into meat and drink, is as one idea and one thing : and with respect to all other Sacraments Priesthood (that is, the grace which makes and administers all the rest,) though it may contain distinctions within itself, is as one idea and one thing.

Within this septenary system two Mysteries, those of Baptism and the Eucharist, are so pre-eminent, differ so in kind from all the rest, and have such a special mutual relation to one another, that so long as the mutual relation of the Seven is not denied, it may be said with truth that "the chief Mysteries," or, speaking emphatically, "the Mysteries" of the Gospel, of the New Law, of the New Testament, of the Church, or of Christianity, are these two, answering to the two great fœderal rites of the Old Testament, Circumcision and the eating of the Paschal Lamb. For these two alone are directly necessary both to the Church and to individuals, ("generally," that is, or to all men) in order to salvation. Of the other five some (as Confirmation and

Unction,) are only conducive to salvation, as imparting some spiritual grace: others, if necessary, are necessary only to some men, and under particular circumstances, (as Penitence and Absolution to the lapsed;) or they are necessary not directly to individuals, but indirectly, for the sake of other Sacraments, as being necessary to the Church. Such are Ordination and Marriage. Again, in Baptism and the Eucharist alone is there an outward sign instituted by CHRIST Himself to be the means of conveying the inward grace which it signifies. And the history of the first announcement of each of these two Mysteries (to Nicodemus, and to the Jews at Capernaum,) of their actual institution afterwards, and of their administration in the Church, beginning from the day of Pentecost, is recorded with a marked parallelism in the Scriptures of the New Testament. And other similar observations may be made with truth to exhibit the pre-eminence of these two great Mysteries. All which may be briefly summed up and explained by one consideration, namely, that by these two alone the very substance of the Church, the second Eve, is formed from the substance of CHRIST the second Adam, bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh. By Baptism we have the spiritual birth; by the Eucharist we have the spiritual food. But generation or birth and food, the first creation of our substance and its nourishment and increase afterwards by food consubstantial with itself, make up together the whole of life. All other benefits, however important, can be only relative and subordinate to these.

This truth (which is fully acknowledged and taught by the Eastern Church, and is not denied by the Roman,) has become an occasion of error to the Protestants, who not content with asserting the pre-eminence, and difference in kind, and peculiar mutual relation of the two chief Sacraments of the Gospel, have framed arbitrary definitions, excluding even from the name of sacraments all sacraments besides these two, and more especially denying the truth, that, if one speaks generally and absolutely, the Sacraments of Christianity are Seven. And though mere ignorance of the mutual relation and number of the Seven Mysteries, or even the error of restraining the use of the Latin word "sacrament" to two only, might seem very slight defects not affecting faith in any Church which still retained in use all the

Seven Sacraments, and taught that each of them conferred its proper grace, still in point of fact among the Protestants and Reformed these faults are connected with specific heresies concerning each of the Sacraments, and in some cases with their total disuse and abolition.

Some indeed, especially among the Anglicans, do not very much insist on their own language of Two Sacraments, nor contend that the Roman doctrine of there being Seven Sacraments is absolutely false or inadmissible. But they complain that it is imposed *de fide*, as necessary to salvation, being one of the twelve articles of the new Creed of Pope Pius. They say that the adding of new articles to the Creed, even if the articles added be true or probable in themselves, is a capital error, and that into this error the Roman Church has fallen on the subject of the Sacraments, and has drawn after her the Easterns.

But it is a misconception to imagine that every proposition which is decreed to be "*de fide*" by the Roman Church is therefore held to be equivalent to an article of the Creed, or necessary in itself to salvation. This is no more true than is the notion that whenever the Roman Church commands or forbids any act "*under pain of mortal sin*," the breach of such a command has in itself the same guilt as the breach of one of the Ten Commandments of God. On the contrary, by decreeing any proposition to be held "*de fide*," or by commanding or forbidding any act "*under pain of mortal sin*," the Church may often mean merely to declare that she uses her authority, and in case of necessity will enforce obedience by excommunication. Thus what of its own nature, intrinsically and directly, is neither *de fide*, nor *mortal sin*, may become so indirectly, through the necessity of believing the Church, (For that is an article of the Creed, and of the faith,) and through the duty of obeying her. And the use of the word "Sacrament" or "Mystery" as a word of the second intention, to teach briefly to all the mutual relation and number of certain spiritual graces or gifts, though it is not in itself any matter of faith, yet is by no means a mere matter of arbitrary and unimportant terminology; but in the present state of Christianity it has an important bearing on the conservation of the true belief, and even of the outward integrity of the Mysteries themselves. Nor is it a mere rejection of Roman or Greek authority, or a

mere difference between rival authorities, to have substituted for the doctrine of the Latin and Greek Church such a form as this, that "*The Sacraments ordained by CHRIST as generally necessary to salvation are Two only.*" For though this may be true as limited by the words "*generally necessary to salvation,*" the practical effect is all one with teaching absolutely that there are only two sacraments; and that the other five are not sacraments at all. And hence both Clergy and Laity among the Anglicans come to have very doubtful notions concerning the spiritual nature and importance of the five lesser Sacraments, not believing distinctly that Confirmation is the Gift of the HOLY GHOST, nor that it is necessary to Confess to a Priest even excommunicable sins, not offering Unction to the sick, nor disallowing the substitution of a mere civil contract for Christian Marriage, nor absolutely denying the identity of Protestant and Reformed Preachers with Christian Clergy.

DISSERTATION XVII.

OF THE INVOCATION AND WORSHIP OF SAINTS, AND ESPECIALLY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

It is objected by Protestants and by Anglicans against the Eastern Church that, in common with the Roman, she invokes and worships Saints, and especially the Blessed Virgin Mary.

As regards *Invocation* they say that it is wickedness, because there is only "*one* mediator between God and man, the man CHRIST JESUS." But since we are taught all of us to pray (that is, to intercede or mediate) one for another, and to desire the prayers of others for ourselves, it is plain that though in one sense there is only one mediator, and no second apart from or concurrently with Him, yet in another secondary sense, under and in CHRIST the primary mediator, there are many mediators.

But then, secondly, they say that admitting the existence of such secondary mediation in CHRIST, those only who are still living in the body upon earth can so mediate, and it is therefore reasonable to desire the mediation of such only, but not of angels or departed souls. But this objection is purely arbitrary, and is sufficiently disposed of by the Greeks or the Latins if they reply, "So you think perhaps; but what if we think otherwise, and act accordingly?"

But then, thirdly, they say that granting that there is a secondary mediation, and granting that to suppose departed spirits to continue their intercessions begun on earth (whereas in point of fact they are unconscious and inactive,) is a mere innocent mistake about a matter of fact, and no sin nor heresy, still to speak to the spirits of the departed is wickedness, because by so doing we attribute to them omniscience and omnipresence, which are attributes of Deity. But if the bodily sense of every

insect and beast and bird and of man himself has in each case its proper range for seeing and hearing, and the eagle which sees furthest is as far removed from omnipresence or omniscience as the fly, then surely there will be no necessary encroachment upon Deity even if we suppose a creature to see and hear at once every thing that passes within the whole solar system. And in truth we know nothing of the faculties of spirits, nor of the laws of their exercise and limitation: we know nothing of the range of their sight and hearing, that is, of their knowledge or presence: only we are inclined to suppose a certain likeness or analogy between the faculties of bodies and of spirits, and a certain superiority in those of the latter. The Prophet Elisha, being yet in the body, said that his spirit saw and followed Gehazi when the Syrian turned again from his chariot to meet him. Why then may not disembodied spirits of Saints do as much? Again, we ascribe even to the devil a very wide range of knowledge and action, a sort of ubiquity. Why then may not Angels and Saints know or hear at least as much of what passes on earth as does the devil? especially what has relation to themselves? Or if in point of fact they do not, but the Greeks and Latins think they do, and speak to them in consequence in that sense in which they might lawfully speak to them if they were present in the body, how can this be more than a mere innocent mistake as to a matter of fact? Not to say that there may be, and are, other reasons for addressing them besides the belief that they actually hear; as, for instance, to cultivate in ourselves a sense of the Communion of Saints by poetical hymns and meditations, and by rhetorical apostrophes, or as an indirect form of praying to God. Or why should the error of a child which calls to some one (its mother perhaps, or brother) who is too far off to hear, or divided by too thick a wall, or altogether absent, be venial or rather amiable, but the mistake of those who invoke Saints and Angels (supposing it to be true that they cannot hear,) be heresy, or worthy of blame? They indeed who can see no reason for speaking to them will of course not speak to them: they would be acting absurdly if they did. But why should they quarrel with others who, thinking that there is reason for speaking to them, speak to them accordingly?

But then, fourthly, they say that even admitting secondary me-

diation, admitting that to suppose departed spirits to be conscious and active, even if they are not so, is at most only an innocent mistake, and admitting that to suppose them capable of hearing is not necessarily to ascribe to them omniscience or omnipresence, still it is sinful to invoke them because it is nowhere commanded in holy Scripture. But this again is purely arbitrary, to suppose that nothing may be believed and nothing done but what is expressly commanded in holy Scripture : whereas in fact Christianity is not the bondage of a prohibitive law, but a spirit of love and liberty in CHRIST. And again, if any principle or energy, as that of mutual intercession, is called into action by Christianity, and taught in the Scriptures, it is true to say that the continuance of this energy, and every natural and legitimate application of it, is by implication directed also. The Scriptures tell us plainly while we are as yet in the body that we are to pray for the brethren, and for all men : Who are they that tell us that we are to discontinue this habit so soon as we are freed from the burden of the flesh, and out of danger for ourselves ? The Scriptures tell us plainly that we ought to desire and on occasion ask the prayers of our brethren while they are as yet in the flesh and in danger for themselves : Who are they who forbid us to continue to desire and to ask, if we think we have occasion, the same prayers so soon as any one comes to be absent from us in the body, out of danger for himself, and in a higher state, with CHRIST, "which is far better ?" It rests with the objectors surely to justify rather their own arbitrary limitations and prohibitions, than to accuse those who merely continue (without any prohibition, except from these their neighbours,) what they have been plainly taught both by the HOLY GHOST and by the Scriptures to begin.

If pursued through all the above arguments, the objectors commonly return to the point from which they began, and recommence with their first objection, that there is only one mediator, just as if they had as yet heard no answer to this, and had made no concession. And thus further discussion becomes impossible.

With regard to *worship* the controversy is very similar. In one sense God only and CHRIST are to be worshipped, that is, with unlimited devotion : But in God and CHRIST, and for His

sake, all good creatures rightly receive, each in its proper degree and respect, a secondary value, honour, love, worship, or veneration: and inanimate things too, as well as animated creatures; both for the sake of GOD, and for the sake of holy men or things with which they may be associated. And this is so universally admitted and practised, that it is a mere waste of words to explain it, or to insist upon it more at length.

But they say that, granting such secondary honour or worship to be natural and proper, the Greeks and the Latins give to the Saints and to the Blessed Virgin that unlimited worship which is due only to GOD. And when this is denied with horror, they insist upon the use of certain expressions as implying Divine worship. For the Greeks and Latins say not only "*Pray for us:*" or "*Obtain for us by thy prayers:*" but also "*Grant to us:*" "*Give us:*" and even "*Save us.*" They say that they "*put their whole trust*" in this or that Saint, and especially in the Blessed Virgin; or even in this or that image or picture: and that the Blessed Virgin is "*the only hope of Christians,*" or "*of the whole race of mankind*": &c. In answer to this it is replied that if any Protestant thinks that by using such expressions he would be offering divine worship to creatures, *he* does right to avoid such expressions, and would be doing wrong if he used them. But if others, using such expressions, assure him that they neither understand nor mean by them any wickedness, but suppose them to be as innocent and as intelligible as any other of those elliptical or hyperbolical expressions which are in the mouths of all men, then he ought in equity and reason to allow them to interpret their own words. If one may say that "*Baptism doth now save us;*" or that "*the Church (like the ark of Noah) is the salvation of the world;*" or that "*the Cross is our only hope;*" and no one needs to have it explained that this is not *apart from* but *in* CHRIST, then if any one say also "*O most holy Mother of God, save us!*" and assure us that he means the same as when he says "*May the Mother of God be our protection in CHRIST JESUS!*" it is a duty in reason and in charity to believe what he says.

In fact so long as any person or community professes to hold the true faith of the TRINITY and Incarnation, to reserve unlimited worship, adoration, or λατρεία to GOD alone, and to render

all such secondary worship as they render to creatures only *in* and not *apart from* CHRIST, it is impossible to find any valid theological objection not only against Invocations in themselves, or against such expressions as those mentioned above, but against any conceivable degree whatever of limited worship, whether it be inward only, or outwardly expressed in words or acts. Positive words or acts of men can never of themselves express an unlimited worship: and even expressions of infinity, as we have seen, are customarily used to express merely a high degree of what is limited. The words or acts which are used by one man, or people, or age, as the highest expressions of Divine worship, are capable of being used, and perhaps are actually used, by others to express only some secondary respect to creatures: and what is only a trivial ceremony or form of speech to one may be an expression of Divine worship to another. Invocations, Incense, direct petitions for temporal and even spiritual blessings, may in one age have been offered to God only, but in another may be offered also (though in a different sense,) to creatures, so as to make a vast increase of their outward honour; and yet there may remain between the worship of Saints so increased or developed and the worship proper to God the same absolute difference as before, when the honour of the creature was confined within its narrowest limits.

What is the highest degree of veneration, love, and worship which may be due to any creature, or which may be expressed outwardly without interfering with the infinite worship of the CREATOR, or what may be the highest glory and worship which the OMNIPOTENT can will and direct to be given to the most glorious of His creatures, are speculations beyond our reach. But we need not fear to say that *for us*, so long as we do all *in proportion*, and in CHRIST, it is impossible to exceed, or even to go far enough, in the love and worship of those beings, or those things, to which our love and worship are due.

It has sometimes been said that the Greeks and the Latins have sought on principle to render to the Blessed Virgin the *utmost possible* worship short of Divine. And no doubt her worship, and even that of other Saints (as of St. Nicholas,) has received at different times great and striking augmentations, and has reached a very high point. But whatever point may

have been reached, there must always be room in what is of its own nature limited for further addition and increase : and it is not difficult to imagine to ourselves very considerable additions and developments which might yet be made to the worship of the Blessed Virgin.

For assuming that in and under CHRIST the *Head* the Blessed Virgin is, after her Assumption, as it were the *neck* of the Church, so that all grace whatever flows to the Body through her, that is, through her prayers, it might be argued that, for such as have this belief, to ask anything of or through her is identical in sense, but in point of form better, than to ask it directly of CHRIST ; in like manner as to ask anything of or through CHRIST is identical in sense, but clearer and fuller in point of form, than to ask it directly of the FATHER. And hence it might seem that it would be an improvement if, reserving only the use of the appointed Forms for the making of the Sacraments, and an occasional use of the LORD's Prayer (and this rather from respect to the letter of their outward Institution than from any inward necessity or propriety,) every prayer, both of individuals and of the Church, were addressed to or through St. Mary ; a form beginning "*Our Lady, which art in heaven*" &c., being preferred for general use to the original letter of the LORD's Prayer ; and the Psalter, the Te Deum, and all the daily Offices, being used in preference with similar accommodations.

No doubt this is more than has as yet been done : and many Greeks perhaps and Roman-Catholics may be inclined to exclaim against the very supposition of such an increase and development of their present worship of St. Mary as something impious, and shocking, and impossible ; just as now Protestants and Anglicans exclaim against that degree of worship of the Blessed Virgin which both Greeks and Latins do actually practise or allow. Still, if such a change as we have been imagining (to suppose it possible for argument's sake,) were to come over the practical devotions of the Greek or the Roman-Catholic Church, and they *said* that they held the true Faith of the TRINITY, and far from impugning the one absolute mediation of CHRIST, sought only to express, and did express in fact, more forcibly their unlimited devotion to Him through a higher (yet in its nature not unlimited) devotion to her whose only value and emi-

nence lies in her relation to Him, there would be no more strict force or accuracy in the popular arguments of Protestants and Anglicans against such a form and degree of worship, than there is in the same arguments against the worship of the Blessed Virgin in its present stage.

However, it does not follow because the arguments of Protestants are unsound, or because we should have no right to condemn others even if they went to lengths hitherto unknown in the worship of Saints, that therefore all that *we have no right to condemn* is good in itself, or in the sight of God, or to be imitated by us. On the contrary it is confessed on all hands to be quite possible that they who *say* they are honouring creatures only in CHRIST, may really be doing otherwise, withdrawing themselves from Him, speaking lies in hypocrisy for vanity or for gain, deceiving themselves and deceiving others. When the ancient Fathers decreed thus, "*Let Mary be honoured, but let CHRIST be worshipped, or adored :*" they clearly contemplated the possibility of excess. And St. John himself, the Apostle of love, falling down to worship in some undue degree an Angel, was reproved thus for our sake, "*See thou do it not, for I am thy fellow-servant : worship God.*" Both Greeks and Latins occasionally blame even things permitted in their respective Communions as excesses : and most of them would shrink, as has been said, from contemplating as admissible any such further development of the worship of the Blessed Virgin as we have imagined. And besides excess in degree, we can see that any and every degree of worship given to creatures, the lowest degree as well as the highest, becomes at once sinful if the heart be not right with God. As the Patriarch Jeremiah II. wrote well to the Lutherans, that for any man to invoke the Saints, if he be not also at the same time striving with all his heart to imitate their virtues, is "*worse than useless.*" It becomes therefore a matter of importance to consider what that is which makes any particular form or degree of secondary worship to be legitimate and salutary, and the absence of which would make the same to be dangerous and blameable.

This question is answered in the simplest and fullest way if we say that whatever is from the Spirit of CHRIST either in the individual Christian or in the Church is good, whatever is from

any other spirit is evil or unprofitable. And the Spirit of CHRIST is a spirit not of formal bondage, but of liberty and love. "*All things are lawful unto me,*" says the Apostle: and again, "*All things are yours, and ye are CHRIST's, and CHRIST is God's.*" And the Spirit is a law to itself, and is not judged of them that are without: nor have the children of GOD need that any man should inform them what is lawful for them, and what unlawful: for they "*have an unction from the Holy One, and know all things.*" If therefore there is such a thing as poetry and rhetoric for the natural man, much more for the Christian: and whatever figures of speech are allowable in the world are no less so in the Church. Or if any Christian has from the SPIRIT of GOD any sense of the presence of an angel or spirit, as in a dream or vision, or by a miracle at Relics, so as to make it natural in him to speak to them, or if he is moved of the same SPIRIT in any other way to speak to them as if they were sensibly present, whatever is natural to him to say or to do will be good in him: and whatever he testifies of himself to be so cannot rightly be condemned by others, at least not by equals.

But if any man have no such direct personal revelation, inspiration, or impulse, prompting him to speak (otherwise than by poetical or rhetorical apostrophe) to those who are not sensibly present, he will then need a sufficient reasonable proof that the belief of this or that doctrine, and the practice of this or that secondary worship to creatures, is enjoined upon him, or recommended to him indirectly, by the HOLY GHOST.

A Protestant therefore, or a member of any Church (as of the Anglican, or the Nestorian) which has not that worship of Saints and of their images which is common to the Latins and Greeks, cannot, except either by some personal inspiration or revelation on the one hand, or by mere will-worship and private fancy on the other, invent, practise, or imitate such worship. He may conclude indeed by reasoning that it is probable that CHRIST should have already accorded such and such honours to His Mother, but he can never of himself advance to the assertion that He has actually done so. But if any one believes in a visible Catholic and Apostolic Church as a Divinely appointed and (in all essential things at least) infallible teacher and guide, and if this Church teaches him to give any particular worship to the Bles-

sed Virgin and other Saints, and to their images or pictures, then he will be safe in doing what the HOLY GHOST through the Church teaches him to do, and will bless GOD for having given him, in addition to the Sacraments and other channels of grace, the Saints, their Relics, and their Icons, to be used as custom may direct, or as individual zeal and piety may prompt. Nor will it make any difference whether what is ordered or recommended seem to have been from the beginning, or to be of later institution, so long as the basis, that this is the Catholic Church, and that the Church so teaches, is certain or undoubted. For the Church being to teach continuously, even to the end of the world, any difference or contradiction which may seem to us to exist between her teaching at one time and at another can be no more than an intellectual difficulty, which we shall do very well to consider, and to resolve, if we can, whether by a theory of development, or by a more accurate examination of facts, or in any other way, but which, if it cannot be resolved, ought not to influence either our faith or our practice.

What then for the Greek or the Latin is the teaching of the Catholic Church? What does it require him to believe and to do? What does it merely encourage, or allow to individuals or societies to be done of their own particular devotion or inspiration? In other words, how far does the Church take upon herself the responsibility of directing serious prayers to be made to Saints, or any particular degree of worship to be paid to them (or to their Icons or Relics,) by individuals beyond what their own spiritual sense or inspiration may prompt?

The Eastern Church teaches distinctly, and the Latin Church by the decree of Trent makes it "a point of faith" to believe and confess, that it is good and profitable to invoke the Saints that are with CHRIST to pray with us and for us. But when, or how, or in what sense the Saints must be invoked; or whether any individual, not personally moved thereto, need invoke them at all otherwise than through the public ritual of the Church; or *in what way* it profits us to invoke them; whether by the Saints actually and ordinarily hearing the words addressed to them and praying to GOD in consequence, or by GOD's communicating to them our petitions either ordinarily or occasionally that they may pray for us, or by His

answering us Himself for their sakes as if they heard us and prayed for us in consequence, or as if our prayers to them were only an indirect form of prayer to Himself, there is no determination of faith. As for the public ritual of the Eastern Church, there is nothing in the regular Services nor in the Offices which either necessarily or in its natural and apparent sense goes beyond poetical and rhetorical apostrophe; nothing which is directed to be said by the Priest or Deacon as a prose prayer; nothing which is not in its structure and origin plainly poetical, and directed to be sung by the Singers to such or such a "*Tone*," except one rather long address beginning "*Ἀσπιλε, ἀμόλυντε*" at the end of the *Ἀπόδειπνον*, which has indeed the form of a prayer, and is to be said by the Reader.* But this, besides being in its wording highly rhetorical, is to be said to the Blessed Virgin as represented by her picture: and its introduction into the ritual had respect to the controversy with the Iconoclasts. It is certain however historically that the Eastern Church in teaching that it is good and profitable to invoke the Saints meant not only to defend as sacred poetry those apostrophes which might occur in her hymns, but also to sanction the practice common among Christians of seriously calling upon the Saints to help them whenever they were moved to do so by any particular association; and of affixing to the poetical invocations contained in the hymns of the Church, whenever and in whatever degree they were moved to do so, a similar sense of reality.

* The two other short addresses to the Blessed Virgin "*ὑπερένδοξε*," κ.τ.λ. and "*τὴν πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα*" κ.τ.λ. which follow in the same place, and are said by the Reader turning to the Icon in the same way, are properly anthems called *Θεοτόκια*, and elsewhere (in the *Μεσονυκτικόν*) appear as such, with the "*Tone*" to which they are to be sung. At the end of the Prayers and Thanksgivings after Communion commonly printed in the *Ὁρολόγιον* there is one "*Ἀνωρόμου εἰς τὴν Ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον*" beginning "*Παναγία Δέσποινα*" and at the end of the *Κανὼν* or Set of Hymns to the Angel Guardian there is a Prayer beginning "*Ἄγιε Ἀγγελε*." In the more modern Slavonic *Κανὼν* or "*Molébens*," such a Prayer often occurs at the end, and the Bishop or chief officiating Priest says it, he himself and all present with him kneeling on their knees, a custom probably imitated in Little Russia from the Uniats and the Latins. Various little manuals of devotion printed in modern Greek at Venice and elsewhere contain Prayers to the Blessed Virgin, to the Angel Guardian, and other Angels and Saints, and even to things inanimate, as the Cross, in which poetry, rhetoric, meditation, and serious prayer are all confusedly blended together.

Thus the principle of the Invocation and worship of Saints (as also of the worship of their Images or Pictures and Relics,) is taught : but for all details and consequences of the particular application of the principle the Church does not make herself responsible. Beyond the use of the public ritual she prescribes nothing. She throws back the responsibility of every assertion and of every act beyond what she requires on the individuals or communities with which they originate, granting them however a general encouragement so far as she has no reason to deny what they testify concerning themselves, or concerning matters of fact. Hence there has arisen in respect of the worship of Saints, their Images, and Relics, a vast popular growth of particular opinions and devotions, differing in different individuals, communities, ages, and countries, as to which it is difficult to say how far when once introduced they do or do not belong to the Church herself, or claim more than a passive respect from such individuals as have no personal inspiration or persuasion in their favour. For on the one hand when the hierarchy renders homage to any popular or local belief, allowing it to be alluded to or recognized in the ritual, and sanctioning particular devotions, it may seem too subtle a distinction to say that it leaves the responsibility of asserting and teaching the matter of fact (for example, the miracle, vision, or revelation,) to those with whom it originated ; or that it does not teach by the ritual which it authorizes as well as by its more formal decrees. And yet, on the other hand, the conduct of the Church in allowing to individuals and to communities particular beliefs and devotions is no more than what every Christian, as we have seen above, is in reason and charity bound to do towards his neighbours, so long as the individual or the community professing any particular belief, or practising any particular devotion, profess to hold the true faith of the TRINITY, and to do whatever they do for sufficient reasons of their own, and all in CHRIST. And certainly it is held both by Greeks and by Latins alike that the mere admission of any assertion or opinion into the ritual is no proof that it is deliberately taught by the Church. It is held too that *matters of fact* are in their own nature beyond the sphere of the Church's authority ; so that they must rest, with all that is built upon them, upon credible proof or testimony. And we see that the ritual of the Church has varied

much in different ages and countries : and that vast changes in matters of belief and feeling and habit take place silently and imperceptibly among Christians, so that what is unknown in one age becomes a main point of religion in another ; and what it might cost a Sovereign his throne to disregard in one age comes to be disregarded by all who please in another. One Saint, or one devotion, rises from obscure beginnings to an incredible height of popularity. Again, some generations pass, and Saints who were in everybody's mouth, and without whose help nothing could be obtained, are half forgotten, and new intercessors are celebrated in their stead.

Seeing the prevalence and strength of many particular beliefs and devotions, the importance attached to them, the zeal with which they are preached by men of energy and seeming holiness, the strong assertions of supernatural revelations, commands or encouragements, and miracles, on which they are often based, or by which they are recommended, an individual may well inquire how far he ought or ought not to throw himself into the belief and practice of others, beyond what the Church requires, and without having within himself any such particular inspiration or assurance for the things recommended, as may be alleged to justify them in others.

With respect to this it may seem to some that to keep guardedly within the letter of the Church's requirements is scarcely compatible with a sincere and loyal obedience to those requirements themselves : that it must be safe and pious to imitate and appropriate (though, it may be, with a certain sense of unreality at first, if one has not been trained to it from a child,) whatever respected individuals, or societies, or dominant opinion and feeling among religious people urges us (with the allowance or favour of the hierarchy) to adopt, trusting to the testimony of others for its lawfulness and profitableness. To others it may seem on the contrary that it is not the same thing to follow teaching merely allowed by the Church as to follow the teaching of the Church herself : and that as the teacher who teaches of himself, by permission only, or it may be with encouragement, so he who listens to and follows such a teacher, by permission only, or it may be with encouragement, must bear his own responsibility. And though no Christian may condemn either the teacher or the hearer of doctrine which the

Church allows, nor make himself a judge of others, yet neither is the feeling or belief of others, nor even their assertion of having received direct revelations or miraculous favours, any sufficient basis upon which to adopt new devotions for himself. And with regard to the whole popular system of Saint-worship and Image-worship, it may appear in two contrary lights to different minds. To some it may seem that the close parallelism existing between it and the old polytheism or hero-worship and idolatry of the heathens, far from being an objection, is a sign that it has grown up by the will of God and by the inspiration of the HOLY SPIRIT. For all false religion being but a perversion and misrepresentation of the true, it may seem antecedently probable that the corruption of the early Patriarchal religion and worship should exhibit a certain perverse and diabolical mimicry of that true and perfect religion into which the early Patriarchal religion and worship was in time to be developed. And it may be thought a triumph worthy of God, that He should accord to the servants and witnesses of the Crucified, and above all to The Woman, the Mother of the promised Seed, an exaltation, and glory, and power, and worship, and deification, far eclipsing the honours suggested by evil spirits, or imagined by corrupt men, for the dæmons of the heathen Olympus. To others on the contrary it may appear that the worship of the Saints and the Blessed Virgin, and of their Images or Pictures, grew up not in those earliest and best times "when the Church was as yet a pure virgin," but in later times, from a mixed and corrupted Christian society: that the stages of its development correspond not with any growth of fervour in imitating the Saints, but with a gradual cooling down and declension from their standard: that the best motive of those who popularized it seems to have been to arrest by an *effort* the decay of piety, and to influence by lower and more human feelings souls no longer capable of relishing higher and more divine: that its characteristics are poetical and rhetorical *effort* and unreality, contrasting sensibly with the thrilling simplicity and reality of the Apostolic age: and that the responsibility of voluntarily taking part in a system not imposed upon us by any authority, but of gradual and popular growth, and lying beyond the formal teaching of the existing Church, is greatly increased if we perceive in the same system a close parallel

with the details of heathen superstition, dæmonolatry, and idolatry, in all their varieties and ramifications.

Historically, the stages of the growth of the worship of the Saints and the Blessed Virgin Mary, more especially in the Eastern Church, seem to have been as follows :

In the Revelation of St. John the Divine an Angel in the heavenly sanctuary is represented as offering from a golden censer much incense "*by the prayers of all saints*"; and the smoke of the incense is said to ascend up before God "*by the prayers of the saints*" (διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν τῶν ἁγίων) out of the Angel's hand. And in another place the souls of the Martyrs are seen under the heavenly altar, and are represented not as unconscious and inactive, but as full of energy, crying with a loud voice, and longing for the final vengeance upon the wicked, and for the consummation of the bliss of the righteous. (Rev. viii. 3, 4; and vi. 9, 10, 11.)

Now whether the figures in the visions of the Apocalypse were taken from the Christian worship; or the Christian worship of the Apostolic age was taken in some points from the figures of the Apocalypse, or both were simultaneously from the same divine patterns, it matters nothing to inquire. But we find that in the Liturgy of the primitive Christians at the most solemn moment, after the Consecration, there was a prayer to God to receive their sacrifice *by the prayers of His Saints*, and also *by the ministry of Angels*. This is expressly mentioned by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his Catechetical Lectures, in the fourth century.

At the same time we find in panegyric Sermons direct apostrophes to Martyrs and other Saints, sometimes with such hypothetical qualifications as "ὦ τις αἰσθησις," and the like, showing that they were not meant in any strict sense, and that the Saints were not as yet commonly addressed, as if they heard, with serious prose prayers. The same appears also from the use made against the Arians of this argument, that CHRIST must be God *because* He was *invoked*; and from the imputation of idolatry to them because, making Him to be only a creature, they yet invoked Him, whereas invocation or prayer belongs only to God. Nor is it any sufficient answer, that by the word "*invocation*" (ἐπίκλησις) in such passages of the Fathers is

meant only proper, absolute, and final invocation or prayer, as distinct from invocation in a secondary sense: any more than it is a sufficient explanation of those passages in which early Fathers reject images and image-worship, to say that they mean only pagan images and Divine worship. The distinction in both cases may be just; but it seems clear that the customs of invoking Saints and venerating images in that sense in which they came afterwards to be distinguished and approved could not well have existed as yet, nor even have been mentally contemplated by the Fathers who so wrote.

Besides rhetorical apostrophes, from the fourth century at the latest, but probably earlier, Hymns (that is, *τροπάρια* and *στιχηρά*), to be sung in the Vespers and Matins began to be composed in honour of the Martyrs: and in these hymns addresses, and invocations, and personifications, were used, as a matter of course, with all that freedom and with all that variety of form which is natural to poetry.

At the same time we find occasional miracles and graces of healing vouchsafed at the tombs and Relics of Martyrs; and Christians in consequence flocking to them, and asking their aid by spontaneous fervent ejaculations and prayers, with a feeling of their being in some sense present, or capable of hearing, caused partly by the actual presence of their Relics, and partly by the association of miracles or visions already connected with the same.

Any one can see that if a hymn containing apostrophes were composed to be sung at the anniversary festival of any Martyr, and were so sung at first merely as sacred poetry, to stir up the minds of Christians present, and to glorify God in His Saints, the invocations contained in such a hymn would necessarily acquire a new emphasis so soon as any miracle was accorded, or was believed to have been accorded, on the spot. Thenceforth it would be impossible to sing them, or to hear them sung there, without a sense of some mysterious reality attaching to them, as if the Martyr or Saint addressed were actually present to hear.

And from such a sense of any Martyr being in a manner present, and in some way hearing and answering addresses made to him, at those places where his tomb or Relics were preserved and honoured, a similar sense would come to attach by associa-

tion to the same hymn or to similar hymns in his honour wherever sung, and to ejaculations and prayers wherever uttered. And the same thing having taken place at once at many different "Memoriæ" of different Martyrs, the popular impression and feeling thence arising would run together, and gathering fresh strength from all fresh accumulations of real or reputed miracles and visions, would form at length a general idea and tradition that the spirits of departed Saints either actually hear or know by revelation when they are invoked; and that if any man invokes them with a right faith in God, and with a pious mind, this is agreeable to God, and many benefits may thus be obtained of God through CHRIST our SAVIOUR.

After the honour and invocation of the Martyrs, there grew up that of the Confessors and other Saints: and last of all, as if from a sense of consistency and logical propriety, after the heresies relating to the Incarnation had been condemned and the doctrine of the TRINITY defined, the worship of the Mother of God rose upon the Church, like the moon rising into a sky already studded with stars, which from thenceforth, though still bright and visible, became as nothing compared with the greater and more splendid luminary.

The introduction of Icons or pictures to render present as it were in the churches the Saints and Angels who are not present to the senses, and the practice of singing hymns containing invocations or reciting addresses before the Picture, as if to the Angel or Saint himself who was represented by it, heightened still further the sense of reality already popularly attached to the poetical addresses of the Church Hymns. And lastly, the occasional substitution of the rapid perfunctory reading of particular Kanóns or strings of hymns instead of singing them (when such compositions were multiplied, and the monastic Services had reached their full length,) begot a more prosaic and matter of fact, though unspiritual, idea of the profitableness of the invocation and worship of the Saints. And when such rapid perfunctory reading came to be the ordinary practice in many cases, the reading of a string of hymns containing addresses would not differ perceptibly from the recital before the Icon of a long prose prayer full of poetical warmth and rhetorical verbiage, such as is actually recited in one or two instances in the

present Greek ritual, and at the end of "Molebens," or *Παρακλήσεις*, in the Russian.

At this point the public practice and ritual of the Easterns stops short, and seems either to have outgrown perfection or to have not yet reached it. For if on the one hand it is best that the invocations contained in the public ritual should go no further than sacred poetry, as was the case for centuries, then the rapid perfunctory reading of strings of hymns as if they were prose, instead of singing them, and the addition of one or two rhetorical prose prayers, is a corruption and abuse; and the superabundance of the hymns themselves would seem to need retrenchment. But if on the other hand it is desirable that the public ritual should distinctly inculcate and reduce to practice the popular belief that an indefinite experimental worship of the Saints (as also of their Icons and Relics,) is a Divinely appointed channel of grace, then it would seem a desirable improvement to drop or curtail the older and now obsolete poetical forms, so far as they have come to be read or gabbled over as prose, and to substitute for them shorter and direct prose *Prayers* and *Litanies*, to be bidden by the Priest or Deacon, after the manner of the Latins. For the Offices of the Blessed Virgin now used by the Latins contain short and terse prayers to her; and their *Litanies* of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints are more suggestive of the idea of serious *prayer* than are the *Acathists* and *Kanóns* of the Greeks, both from their structure being less plainly poetical, and because of the kneeling posture in which they are often said or sung; and because the petitions to the Blessed Virgin and to the Saints are conjoined with and follow immediately after those to the TRINITY, with which they correspond in form: also because of the way in which they are often altered and adapted from those parts of the ritual which are addressed to God, so as to suggest the idea of a purposed parallelism of prayer; as is the case with the Offices of the Blessed Virgin corresponding to the greater public Offices, the accommodation of the Psalter, the *Te Deum*, &c., the imitations of the Collects, the "*Domina, ad orationem meam intende*:" &c. The view which any one may take of this matter will probably depend in great measure upon the favour or disfavour with which he may regard the theory of Doctrinal Development.

DISSERTATION XVIII.

OF THE WORSHIP OR VENERATION OF ICONS AND RELICS.

THE objections made by Protestants and by Anglicans against the veneration of Icons or Pictures and of Relics resemble so closely those made against the worship of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, that the worship of Saints, Icons, and Relics, may for purposes of Controversy be regarded as three parts of one and the same subject.

Against Images or Pictures (for it may be conceded that there is no valid distinction between the two,) the objection commonly first urged is this, that the Second Commandment forbids us to make or to have them. To which it is enough to reply that the objectors themselves both make and have them freely; and so show that they do not really and seriously understand them to be forbidden by the Second Commandment.

Next they say that, granting it lawful to make and to have them, it is forbidden us to "worship," that is, to honour them. To which the answer is as before, that all Protestants also, not merely by the use of a lawful liberty, but by the necessity of human nature, give honour and dishonour to such pictures and images as they have or see; and not to pictures and images only, but to everything else which carries with it to their minds any relative association with good or with evil.

Next they say that, granting it lawful to make and to have, and natural and unavoidable to honour relatively all things which carry with them any association worthy of honour, still such honour may not be expressed outwardly, nor its expression made a matter of public custom. And the answer is again that Protestants also, when not thinking of religious controversy, make no scruple to express outwardly such feelings of inward honour

or affection as they entertain, nor to conform to any social custom of expressing such honour which they may find anywhere established.

Next they say that, even though they abandon the three preceding objections and confess that holy things as well as holy persons are to be honoured, still the honour given them must not be "religious honour." But this is mere verbal trifling. For the nature of the honour does not depend on our will, but on the nature of the thing that is honoured. A token, or picture, or statue, which brings to men's minds some political achievement will be honoured of course with a civil honour: that which recalls some object of natural affection will be honoured with an honour of natural affection: and that which is associated with any object of religious love or reverence will receive a corresponding religious honour. To say that we may have pictures and other objects connected by association with holy persons and holy things, with the House and worship of Almighty God, and may honour them, but not with a religious honour, is no more reasonable than to say that one may have the picture of his parent, and may honour it, but not with an emotion of filial affection.

Another form of the same unreasonable prejudice is exhibited by those who say that pictures or images may be had indeed and honoured with such honour as naturally belongs to their originals, but then this must not be "*in the church*." As if the arts might freely be used by men for their own pleasures and vanities, but were inadmissible in that higher sphere of religion from whence alone all things belonging to the lower spheres of public and private life receive their sanctification.

There is more apparent force in the objection that the custom of paying an outward reverence to pictures or images was unknown to the Church of the first ages, and that divers of the Fathers in inveighing against heathen idols use such general and absolute expressions as show that they neither knew of any Christian use or worship of images, nor contemplated any such thing as compatible with Christianity. Still this objection also on closer examination vanishes. For firstly, even though a man admit not the idea of any positive development of the faith itself, still in secondary matters of discipline and ritual (such as

this is,) he must admit that the outward form of Christianity may vary according to varying circumstances. And if so, it is unreasonable to expect in the Christians of any particular age such a degree of speculative foresight as shall contemplate distinctly all future phases of Orthodox Christianity which may differ in some respects from their own : or to make a difficulty of the fact, that Christians living under certain peculiar circumstances may have expressed themselves so as to show that they did not look beyond them, nor calculate the possible effect of contrary circumstances. Now in the primitive Church, composed partly of Hebrew converts, to whom it had been a religious tradition to make no likeness of any living creature, and partly of converts from the heathen, whose worship of images was the special abomination distinguishing them from the Jews and Christians, there was certainly nothing to suggest the idea that image-worship under any form would one day be discovered to be congenial to orthodoxy. Nor was the condition of the Christians, their poverty, the smallness of their churches, the secrecy of their assemblies, under persecution, in private dwellings, or in catacombs, at all favourable to the development of an external ritual. At any rate, the circumstances of the Church so long as she was in conflict with pagan idolatry supply a very sufficient explanation of the fact that she did not as yet originate or contemplate any analogous Christian system of her own. But when Christianity had triumphed, and was now clearly distinguished for ever from that system which it had combated without truce and which it had totally destroyed, a number of new things scarcely contemplated as possible before, but contained in germ within the Church, were visibly manifested. Emperors and nations, as such, came to stand in the same relation to the Church and to the Christian Clergy, as they had formerly stood in to heathenism and the heathen priesthood. Endowments in money, houses, and lands, accrued to the Church, as before to the heathen temples. Great and magnificent churches were built from the same motives of zeal, policy, or vanity as had prompted the erection of the most celebrated edifices of paganism. And when these had been built, there were the same motives for adorning them in the spirit of the new religion. The worship of the true God, emerging from the catacombs and

other hiding-places, expanded into a complex and attractive ritual from causes analogous to those which had produced the ceremonial which it supplanted. Under these circumstances, idolatry being now clean swept away, and no longer occupying the mind, it was inevitable that in due time the question should come up whether the application of the arts of painting and sculpture to the service of religion, considered abstractedly and in itself, was lawful or forbidden. And nothing but a general positive tradition that it was forbidden could prevent those arts from obtaining their natural place in connection with the Christian ritual. But the general positive tradition existing among Christians was precisely the reverse. Sacred sculptures and paintings had been known among them, both in private dwellings and in places frequented for worship, from the very beginning. And the very same Fathers, who from not knowing nor contemplating any ritual custom of reverencing Christian Icons seem in words to condemn all image-worship of whatever kind, allude nevertheless to the existence among the brethren of gems and cups with sacred symbols and representations cut upon them, and of sculptures, pictures, and frescoes about the tombs and "Memoriæ" of the Martyrs, and of other Christians deceased. And such incidental mentions or allusions are by no means accompanied by any expressions of reprobation, but quite the contrary. It is true, no doubt, that in the earliest times these things were not everywhere equally common : and while in some places walls of churches and catacombs were already painted with frescoes, and tombs or sarcophagi were sculptured with human figures, in other places a holy Bishop may have torn down from the church doors a veil which had a figure painted or worked upon it, or a local Council may have forbidden to paint the walls of churches with objects of reverence or adoration. But enough remains to prove that when the question was first publicly moved there existed no general sense or tradition received from the beginning that the use of sculpture and painting in connection with religion was unlawful, or that Christians were bound, like the Jews, by the *letter* of the Second Commandment.

Christians then, both having and making sacred representations, must undoubtedly also have honoured them with such honour as belonged to them, as has been said above; and

must have expressed that honour even outwardly whenever the occasion prompted, just as all men express outwardly, whenever the occasion prompts, their inward feelings of honour or affection, contempt or aversion.

It was not till Pictures in the possession of private persons began to be made much of and to be talked about, and individuals began to show them an outward honour beyond that prompted by incidental emotion, making a custom of kissing them, and of lighting lights before them, that some of the Fathers take notice of this, and rather blame it as a weakness and superstition, not by any means as heresy or idolatry. And this, so long as it was as yet a mere private custom of individuals, may have been indeed a weakness: but when once it had been adopted into the ceremonial of the Church it was a weakness no longer. For then it became a matter of ordinary obedience and conformity; and it would have been a weakness, or rather a pernicious rebellion, to reject it. After long and violent controversies, caused partly by the novelty of the ritual custom and by a plausible scruple on account of its outward similarity to heathenism (perhaps also by a Manichæan aversion for bodily forms,) partly by the coexistence of contrary habits and dispositions on this subject in different parts of the Church, but most of all by the personal partizanship of the Emperors of Constantinople, it was determined by the whole East and by the chief authority in the West (the rest of the Westerns also gradually acquiescing,) that it is good and profitable both for individuals and for the Church to show outwardly to the Icons of our LORD, His Blessed Mother, and the Saints, as well as to other sacred things, that relative honour and veneration which belongs to them in virtue of their associations: in like manner as it had from old time been customary to show such honour to the Cross, the Gospels, the doors of the church, the rim of the altar, the Priest's hand, the vestments of the clergy, and all other holy things and vessels connected with the worship of God and with the persons or memory of His Saints.

Assent to this general principle, and conformity to those ritual customs which have been based upon it, is all that the Eastern Church *requires* of her members. For any further and more particular application of the principle in practice she leaves

individuals and societies to their own responsibility, according to them only a general encouragement so far as she has no reason to deny, nor is able to disprove, what they may assert concerning any supernatural facts or inspirations.

Yet on this subject, as on that of the worship and invocation of Saints, the bare statement of what is *required* must give a very inadequate view of the matter, and one which it is hardly fair to put off upon Protestants or upon Anglicans without some further notice of ideas and practices popularly dominant, which go far beyond what is required, and which cannot be either tacitly or openly condemned without implicating in some sort the Church herself in the same condemnation.

In the case of the worship of Saints the dominant and living creed has been stated in the preceding section thus : That faith in the general efficacy of Invocations, and a tentative or experimental use of particular invocation according to impulses which may seem to come of imagination, of some outward connection of circumstances or inward association of ideas, or of the example and suggestion of others, but which really come also from a higher source, are means of grace and aid appointed by God for the benefit of such Christians as use them with an orthodox faith and piety. In like manner in respect of the worship of Icons the dominant popular belief is this : That a sense of the importance of their worship, and a tentative experimental practice of it in particular cases and towards particular Icons, from motives similar to those which prompt particular invocations and devotions to particular Saints, has a sort of sacramental virtue ; and has been appointed by God to be a channel of His benefits, not indeed to all who may worship holy Icons, nor in all cases, but to men of pure faith and religious life, and in particular cases, when it pleases Him so to manifest his goodness.

The source and basis of this dominant belief is to be found in the belief of particular miracles and deliverances associated with particular Icons or pictures.

We read of certain of the earliest Christians that they "brought forth their sick on beds and couches into the streets, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them." And again, that "God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul ; so that from his body were

brought unto the sick handkerchiefs and aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them." In these relations we see a certain tentative or experimental act of faith rewarded with miraculous healings. And we can understand that the same faith would continue to prompt Christians to do like tentative or experimental acts even after the Apostles were removed, so long as they had the idea that the grace and power of God wrought through outward channels. They would go and pray at the tombs of Martyrs, or bring the sick or the possessed to their Relics, or take to others at a distance some handkerchief or apron or garment from their Relics or their tombs. They would see too in churches named after them (whether containing or not any particle of their Relics,) in Hymns made to be sung in their honour, and lastly (after the use of sacred pictures had become general,) in their Pictures also a sort of "shadow" of the Saints who were represented. And when once it was believed, whether rightly or mistakenly, that by this or that particular handkerchief or apron or picture the Divine grace had been pleased to manifest itself, it would be natural and unavoidable that men should feel a certain special regard for those instruments, and should be moved by the association to seek and expect a repetition of the same graces rather through them than through any others of which no such miracles were as yet reported. There is no room here for questioning whether such a special regard is allowable or blameable. The thing could not be otherwise, the nature of man remaining the same. It is therefore safe to say that if the first experimental use of the handkerchief or the picture was lawful and pious, those consequences which followed from the success of the experiment of faith were foreseen and allowed prospectively by the Spirit of God, Which would not otherwise have wrought the first miracle.

It is probable then (to speak generally,) that as there had been in earlier centuries particular graces and healings vouchsafed through the intercession and invocation of Saints, and through their Relics, so there were also (after the use and veneration of Icons had been introduced,) similar graces and healings vouchsafed through particular Icons. And if this is believed to have been so, and may have been so in truth, it fol-

• lows that any Icon which has the reputation of being miraculous, and is popularly honoured on that account with a special honour, ought to be honoured so far as custom requires by all those who have no sufficient reason for denying, nor can disprove, what is generally believed respecting it.

But it by no means follows in respect to the worship of Icons (any more than in respect to the worship of Saints,) that because the common arguments urged against the thing in itself are false, therefore there neither can be nor is any excess or abuse connected with it in practice. Nor because it would be wrong in a man to condemn his neighbours for the respect which they may show to any particular Icon, or to deny absolutely himself, or insist on their denying, any miracle or revelation or healing which he cannot disprove, does it therefore follow that whatever is so asserted and believed, whether by individuals or by communities, is true in fact. Even in the Apostles' times their miracles would give occasion, especially among those without, to many more reports than were true, and to other tentative acts besides those of genuine piety; and would cause them sometimes to be sought to and honoured by men very different from those who, like the cripple at Lystra, "had faith to be healed." And in the same way, when the Christian society came to be more mixed, and the majority of its members were weak or unholy, the fame of miracles would produce in the mixed multitude more or less of a mixed and unholy superstition. Men would think rather of the outward wonders in themselves, and of the Saints, Relics, or Icons with which they were associated, than of the inward dispositions requisite in all who would either obtain miracles or profit by them. And they whose tentative acts, or whose devotion towards any Saint, Relic, or Icon was least likely to obtain any real grace from God, would be most apt, from their want of spiritual discernment and virtue, both to propagate false stories and to distort true; while all that was not in itself contrary to faith, when once it had obtained circulation, would be credited by good and simple people, and by society at large.

This concrete growth of faith and piety mixed with superstition and carnality, tentative and imitative acts proceeding from the one mixed with tentative and imitative acts proceeding from

the other, and popular beliefs and devotions representing the joint influence of both, is absolutely identical in all the three branches of the worship of Saints, the worship of Icons or Pictures, and the worship of Relics. But its character may be examined and distinguished most easily in the case of the worship of Relics; and that for the following reason, that the inquiry, so long as it is confined to this one branch, is embarrassed by no such preliminary objections and prejudices as lie against Saint-worship and Image-worship. Relics are not living creatures to which the honour due to God may be misdirected: nor are they likenesses of things in heaven or in earth or under the earth, by making or honouring which the Second Commandment may be violated. The bones of a Martyr are inoffensive and passive. A man must be indeed brutalized by heresy who can deny to them that honour and affection which even heathens sometimes bestow by natural instinct on the remains of their dead. Nor will he deny that such affection and honour may be expressed outwardly, as well as felt inwardly: and in conformity with an established custom, as well as incidentally of spontaneous emotion. And if it chance that a sick man or a demoniac approach the Relics of a Martyr and is healed, or if a blind man receives his sight, there is no room to quarrel either with the Martyr who sought no worship, nor with the Relics which are inanimate, nor with the man healed who perhaps uttered no word, nor with the free grace and power of God. Yet such facts as these once occurring, or being believed to have occurred, it was inevitable that the Relics and the Martyrs themselves through which they had occurred, should be celebrated and honoured not only by the secret "faithful," but also by the mixed "congregation" of Christians: that a general feeling, and a ritual custom for honouring all Relics of Saints should grow up: that some Relics should be worshipped more, some less, from divers causes more or less valid or superficial: that in time true Relics should be multiplied, and should be subdivided into fragments, and false Relics invented, and celebrated as true: that fabulous miracles should be ascribed to genuine Relics, and sometimes perhaps true miracles be granted to simple worshippers of Relics which are not genuine: that communities, nations, and ages should take the colour of their belief from the individuals of whom they

are composed : that things false as well as true should find their way not only into the popular belief but even into the Hymns and Lessons and Ritual of the Church ; and that it should become wholly impossible not only for common individuals but even for Ecclesiastical authorities to discriminate between the true and the false portions of the concrete growth, or to prescribe such rules as shall present the continuance of a similar process of concrete growth for the future.

Such a complication of certainty and doubtfulness respecting particular facts (though not respecting principles or doctrines,) of truth and falsehood, of good, bad, and mixed religion, on three such important subjects, is no doubt highly irritating to the impatience of human reason, which would rather deny and condemn everything with the Protestant or believe everything with indiscriminating and reckless credulity, than endure the torture of a suspense which it abhors. But these three are not the only subjects on which the same suspense must be endured. The whole body of external religion (especially in respect of those things which are good or bad only as they are used or abused,) has a double aspect : so that contrary propositions, favourable and unfavourable, Orthodox and Protestant, are true of it at once, and of all its parts, though in different respects. In itself, in the intention of the Church, and in the practice of good Christians, all is good : but in its abuse or perversion, and in bad or imperfect Christians, the whole body of external religion tends to become (what it is called by the Quakers and the *Duchoborts*, and by other sectaries,) an idolatrous and heathenish superstition.

Most of all is this the case in respect of that union of the Church and the Clergy with the world which is called the civil or national *establishment* of Christianity. Viewed in itself theoretically, and in one part or aspect of its practical working, this is very good. It makes the kings and rulers of the world to become the servants and fosterfathers of the Church, and facilitates the salvation of innumerable souls. But viewed in another aspect of its practical working it is intensely evil. It enslaves the Church to the powers of this world : it enfeebles and corrupts her spiritual energies : it combines Jerusalem and Babylon inseparably and undistinguishably together, so that one and the same concrete is in one of its aspects Jerusalem, in

another Babylon. And if so, then it is no more than we might expect that there should be in the subordinate details also of outward Christianity other instances of a similar double-sidedness: that ritual worship in one of its aspects should be a symphony of men with angels, but in another a lip-service worship of the priests of the Grand Lama: that the stated fasts should be at once the life of prayer and spirituality, and a mere Judaical form: that monasticism should be at once the salt of the Church, and a sink of hypocrisy or idleness: that the worship of Saints, Images, and Relics should in one aspect be worthy of the citizens of the New Jerusalem, but in another a mass of such adulterous and unholy superstition, covetousness, and imposture, as can only belong to Babylon.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF CREDULITY AND SUPERSTITION.

APART from particular controversies, though closely connected with them, there is the general question of Credulity and Superstition which it may be proper to consider separately. Superstition, it is said, not only exists abundantly and is tolerated within the Eastern Church, but it is even adopted and maintained to a certain extent by that Church herself.

Some, seeing how religion is clogged with a mass of the most grotesque fables and the most palpable frauds, are for discarding indiscriminately whatever seems contrary to the belief and spirit of the present age. Others, seeing whither such a spirit of critical scepticism tends, are afraid to hint the slightest doubt of any thing which the popular mind receives, and defend, sincerely or hypocritically, much which it is neither easy to believe nor edifying to defend. Thus the two parties assist the enemy of souls, and conspire to force men to choose between an irreligious scepticism and an unbounded superstition.

We shall here state briefly a few considerations which may serve to limit the excess of scepticism on the one side and the excess of mischievous credulity, or still more mischievous affectation of credulity, on the other.

Against unlimited scepticism respecting stories of revelations and miracles by the intervening ministry of Saints or Angels, or through Relics, or directly from God in answer to prayer, it is enough to say,

I. That as we have the record of many such miracles both in the Old and New Testaments, and as all nations and men of all religions have ever been inclined to believe such things, it is more natural and reasonable to believe than to doubt :

II. That Christianity itself being altogether divine and supernatural, and every one of its most frequently repeated Mysteries involving miracles of the highest kind, he who makes a difficulty of believing the less can scarcely be thought sincerely to believe the greater. And unquestionably, to give one example, for a blind man to be restored to bodily sight is a less miracle than for a soul to be enlightened or regenerated in the Sacrament of holy Baptism.

III. If it be objected that all the miracles recorded in holy Scripture seem to recommend themselves by some propriety of signification or circumstance, whereas with great numbers of Ecclesiastical miracles it is just the reverse, it may be remembered, first, that if the inspired writers had not recorded all with exact propriety and accuracy, but we had been left to find out for ourselves from a mass of written or oral traditions and popular tales the miracles of the Apostolic age and of all other ages preceding, we cannot doubt that there would have been a great mass of truth and error or fable mixed together; many false miracles as well as some true; and respecting the true many distorted representations, suppressions of important particulars, and additions of fabulous circumstances; so that it would have been no easy matter for mere unassisted reason to discern the grain from the chaff.

IV. Even granting that there is a difference in kind between modern or Ecclesiastical miracles and those recorded in holy Scripture, still there may be many degrees and kinds of miracles, as well as of revelation and inspiration.

V. Further, it is to be remarked that if on the one hand it is difficult or impossible even for the most enlightened to distinguish accurately between false miracles and true, or between the truth and the fable or error mixed up together in any one particular legend, on the other hand it is not at all necessary to faith or piety that this should be otherwise. It is indeed necessary for us to know the Articles of the Faith, the Commandments of God, and certain short Prayers: But to know whether this or that story of a divine interposition is fact or fable; whether it is unmixed truth or unmixed error, or a mixture of truth and error; and, if a mixture, in what proportions; this is often a question rather of curiosity than of religion. And it may be

more salutary for the mind to be left in doubt upon many such matters, than to be encouraged to decide upon every thing.

VI. And as it is not necessary for us to judge even for ourselves in all cases, so still less is it necessary or reasonable that, if we do judge, we should force our judgments upon others. If a man or a nation believe any miraculous story, which is not impious in itself but capable of being viewed in a good light as making to the glory of God, and we think we have reason to doubt or deny this story, we are not necessarily called upon to attack, nor even justified in attacking, the popular error. And if we do attack it we must take the consequences, just as if we attacked the dominant opinions or feelings of the multitude on any other subject of social or political interest.

VII. Neither is it necessary or right for us to refuse to sing in the church a Kanón in honour of some doubtful Saint or miracle, or to pay the customary honour to some doubtful Icon or Relic. For charity forbids us for our own personal doubts to scandalize those who, not being in doubt, will see in our conduct only a dishonour of holy things : not to say that a personal doubt ought to give way to a public belief, rather than expect the public belief to give way to it. Nay more, even if we had a conviction or knowledge that the Icon or the Relic was false, though in that case we should not seek occasion unnecessarily to honour them, we should not be justified in refusing the honour if called upon to pay it, unless we were in the place of authority, and were able to teach the people that they were under a mistake without fear of some greater scandal or mischief resulting from this assertion on our part than from a continuance of the people in their innocent or pious error as to a mere matter of fact.

The cause for which we ought to be careful to encourage a spirit of religious and discriminating caution, and avoidance of precipitate credulity, even in cases where the thing itself seems harmless or edifying, is this, that there is a tendency in credulity and superstition to produce eventually a contrary excess of scepticism and unbelief. The evil one, the father of lies, is not so simple as to prompt men to invent lies which are directly and absolutely to his own disadvantage. One Saint, it is said, in two days and two nights sailed round on a stone by way of the

Atlantic ocean, the Baltic sea, the Neva, the lake Ladoga, and the river Volchoff, from Old Rome to Great Novgorod : Another sailed about the Northern ocean on his cloak : And if one hesitates to assent to such legends, one is liable to be asked Why, if these miracles are not true, should the devil invent such triumphs over himself, or such testimonies to the power of the Cross, which is the same thing ? But the devil knows very well that at a certain point of accumulation of grotesque miracles men begin to laugh : and sometimes the miracle is in itself not only grotesque but laughable : next they discover in some instances clear signs of fraud or folly : and then, the whole seeming to have grown up together into one system, and to have become one concrete mass with the very faith and life of the Church herself, the superstructure of wood, hay, and stubble is made an occasion for overturning even the foundations.

For this reason, and seeing the danger of utter scepticism which is fostered by the indiscriminate defence of all popular and ecclesiastical beliefs, we will now briefly point out some of the chief sources of false and mixed legends, leaving it for the most part to the reader to apply them to particular cases, and to add other similar sources for himself.

I. One of the simplest and most innocent sources of false miracles lies in men's having misunderstood what was said or seen or done mentally, metaphorically, or spiritually, as if it had been seen or done bodily. Thus when the Saxon Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury in England, had enforced the discipline of the Church even against the king, and some of his contemporaries and disciples had said strongly and expressively that he had "taken the devil by the nose," and the painters had visibly embodied this figure of speech, the common people understood both the word and the paintings to express a literal fact. Another Saint, wishing to reprove and teach a slothful monk who slept in his stall during Matins, said that he had seen a huge serpent coiled up and lying on his head : and it was supposed that the Saint had seen a real snake.

II. Another source is the misconception of what was told or written allegorically, as in the legend of the Sicilian Virgin Agatha who is tempted by five abandoned young women, who are evidently nothing else than personifications of the five senses.

III. Another source lies in the popular misunderstanding of emblematical ceremonies. Thus the reappearance of a light from the Holy Sepulchre, after all other lights have been extinguished in the church, has for many ages been taken to be miraculous, (formerly by the Latins and Armenians as well as by the Greeks, and still by the common people among the Greeks,) although it is plainly only a very significant and appropriate Ecclesiastical ceremony, identical with what is practised in all Latin churches without any idea of a miracle.

IV. A fourth source is *ὁμωνυμία*, of which we have a good instance in the ascription of particular Icons to St. Luke the Evangelist. When attention began to be drawn to such pictures as existed among Christians, and questions to be raised about them, it is plain that they who painted them or possessed them must either admit that they were mere creations of fancy, and had no claim to be likenesses, or say that they exhibited a traditional likeness handed down through pictures first painted by contemporaries, and through copies afterwards made from such pictures. The *likeness* then in this or that picture of our SAVIOUR or of the Blessed Virgin was said to be from St. Luke, who was supposed first to have painted pictures of them. And the *likeness in the Icon* and the *Icon itself* being expressed by one and the same word, and so being liable to be confounded together from the first, the material picture would get the credit of being itself the original, and of having been painted by the hands of the Evangelist. Then, as copies came to be taken from such pictures, they too would be said, to distinguish them from others of later design, to be from St. Luke, that is, to be reproductions of that particular design and likeness which belonged to the older picture from which they were copied. And the same process would be repeated over again with these also, the copies coming to be taken to be not only in the *likenesses* contained in them but in their material substance and colour from the very hands of St. Luke. Another double misconception of the same kind was not uncommon in the West: The Relics of a Martyr or Saint and the Saint himself are in a manner identical: and if the Relics were translated to any particular spot, the Saint would be said "to have come thither," and to have blessed and defended that church or city with his presence and protection. Again,

the statue or picture of a Saint or Martyr was said to be the Saint himself, that is, his likeness. And it was common to represent a Martyr who had been beheaded with his head in his hand, or under his arm, that the statue or picture might of itself signify the manner of his death. Hence arose stories among the people that such and such Martyrs (whose statues they were used perhaps to see in niches outside of their Cathedral with their heads under their arms,) had been beheaded, and after their decapitation had miraculously walked to this or that spot holding their heads in their hands, or under their arms. Of the same kind among the heathens were various legends in which the name or sign given to a ship was confounded with the ship itself. Europa no doubt crossed the sea in a ship with the figure of a Bull at its bulkhead; and Arion was picked up and landed at Tænarus by a ship named the Dolphin.

V. Another source is when things were reported which could not be correctly understood at a distance, or effects witnessed which could not be accounted for by any known power or agency. In such cases it is natural for Christians as well as for heathens to refer those things which strike them as wonderful not only directly to God, but also to such other inferior agencies as they may seem to be connected with by any association of ideas. Thus vast ruins in the East are ascribed to Solomon tasking the Genii; and the building of Cathedrals still standing in Scandinavia is ascribed by the people to similar invisible powers subjected to the command of Christian Bishops and Saints. The first ship seen by savages ignorant of navigation becomes a living being: the first steamer a dragon breathing out fire and smoke. The first horsemen were Centaurs. And we are still familiar with the actual production of fable from this source, whenever any people comparatively ignorant and barbarous are brought for the first time in contact with the wonders of art and science and civilization.

VI. Another source there is identical in principle with the preceding, but differing from it in this, that either the association in virtue of which we refer any particular effect not directly to God but to this or that subordinate agency, or the wonder itself, or both, are of men's own original or conventional devising. God, Who is Almighty, infinite, and all-sustaining, contains all

things; and without His will nothing is done that is done: we are therefore always right in seeking all things which it is right to seek from Him, and in ascribing all that befalls, whether in seeming answer to our prayers or otherwise, to His will or permission. But when we come to subordinate limited agencies, this is no longer so. And yet it is very natural and very common first, in virtue of some hint or association, to ascribe a general or particular sphere, influence, or ministry, to this or that Angel, or Saint, or other created thing, and then to seek from it or through it this or that effect; and if the effect follow, to attribute it to the agency or intercession which was in our minds. Elijah having brought down rain after a long drought by his prayers upon the top of Mount Carmel, Christians by virtue of the association make the nearest height to their city or monastery into a Carmel, and plant upon it a chapel of St. Elias: and if they pray there in time of drought, and rain follows, it is for them a miracle obtained by the prayers of St. Elias. The vessels of the Russians which came to attack Constantinople in the ninth century were wrecked and driven ashore near the church of the Blessed Virgin at Blachernæ; and the Patriarch had dipped what was supposed to be her robe in the sea before the storm arose, and had sung an "Akathist" to implore her protection. The result following which was desired, it is no wonder that both the Christians of Constantinople and the barbarians themselves ascribed it to her interference. Yet seeing that rain after drought, and storms of the sea, and vicissitudes of dangers and deliverances to men and cities and nations certainly do happen in virtue of God's general and particular government of the world, we must always be more or less uncertain in attributing such things to some other secondary agency over and above, so long as this secondary agency is of our own choice and devising, and so long as the things themselves are not manifest and striking reversals of the ordinary course of nature. The case would be different if any one had made iron to swim by invoking the aid of Elisha; or if any one by invoking the aid of the Blessed Virgin had restored sight to one born blind: or had raised a man to life from the dead.

On the same principle as that spoken of above, St. Luke having come to be regarded as the first Icon-painter and the Patron of

that art, an Icon found in a cave, as at *Megaspélaion*, without any known history, overgrown with ivy and other greens, would seem as if painted and left there by St. Luke himself. And even if, on burning the underwood and clearing out the cave, it appeared that there had been an altar cut in the rock and a hermitage in connection with the Icon, this, instead of destroying the former idea, would only suggest an addition to it, namely, that St. Luke himself had been the hermit who had lived there, and had celebrated on that altar; and even that he had written his Gospel in the same cavern. All which would be corroborated by the historical tradition that he did really come into Achaia, and was buried at Thebes. To account for the growth of the whole legend we need suppose no more than that the two brothers from Thessalonica, when they first saw the Icon in the cave, uttered some such words as these, "How can this have come here? It looks as if it had grown of itself among the ivy on the walls of the cave: or rather as if St. Luke himself had painted it, and left it here for us to find, and to assist us in our mission!" These words falling upon the ears of others would be enough: and in the next generation of their disciples and followers the whole would be related as a fact or tradition, which had probably been related to the Saints, the first finders of the Icon, in a vision or dream.

VII. Another source is the insensible and unintentional accretion of circumstances through the imperfection of oral tradition, and through the licence of imagination and embellishment indulged in by those who with scanty materials first fix oral tradition in writing. All monks, as such, have placed themselves in a manner under the protection and intercession of the Blessed Virgin. A monk founding a hermitage or monastery must, as a matter of course, desire to find water for it; and on finding the water, or digging the well, he will say with propriety not merely "Here by the favour of God," but "Here by the favour of God and of the Blessed Virgin," or "Here by the favour of the Blessed Virgin I found water for the brethren." (As, when the Deacon is going to read the Gospel in the church, the Bishop blesses him with a prayer that God "by the prayers of the holy Evangelist N." who is to be read, will give him grace to read to the edification of the hearers.) The disciples of such a monk or Founder in

the next generation will relate that "Here the Blessed Virgin helped the Saint to find water." In the mouth of the next it will be that "Here she appeared to the Saint, and showed him the spring." Then comes some one who writes for the first time the life of the Founder: and he will not only make the Blessed Virgin appear, but will dramatize the narrative, and give the very words which passed between her and the Saint; and very probably will suppose and represent that she did not merely teach the Saint where to find a spring already existing, but called the spring itself into existence for his sake.

VIII. Another most fertile source lies in the spirit of imitation and rhetorical embellishment common to writers of the biographies of Saints. Little being known in many cases of the details of the real life, the tradition of the Saint whose life is to be written having been distinguished for certain virtues, or the general idea of the virtues belonging to this or that class of Saints, suggests certain details: and the half-miracles of the encomiast swell into real miracles. The miracle of feeding the brethren by some miraculous supply, or by the multiplication of some small remains of their stock of provisions, with many other like marvels, occur over and over again in the lives of different Saints who were hegoumens, just as if the biographers of later Saints had borrowed largely from the lives of the more ancient.

IX. Another source is that of apocryphal and spurious writings. For example, certain particulars respecting the early life of the Blessed Virgin now popularly received by tradition and celebrated in some of the hymns of the Church seem to have been taken from the spurious Gospels of the early heretics.

X. Another source often superadded to one or more of the above is that of human influence and authority. For instance, the influence of some holy man in the Church, or of some great man or body of men in the world, of Emperors, Courts, Cities, or Monasteries, or Nations, whose reception and veneration of any miracle, or Saint, or Icon, others follow. There is also the still higher influence of the Church, when private and popular ideas and devotions concerning matters of fact have come to be countenanced, and in some measure received by her, and even Offices and Hymns to be composed and used consecrating the popular belief of this or that particular wonder.

XI. Another source is that of human reasoning, which, not content with deducing logical consequences from the facts or doctrines of revelation, goes on to the assertion of fresh *facts* which at most can only be said to be probable. For instance: From the Incarnation it seems to follow clearly that our human nature is taken into a closer union with the Deity than any other nature; and from having been a little lower than that of the angels is crowned with glory and worship; that is, is exalted far above all principalities and powers. Viewing the human nature in the Blessed Virgin, who is, in and under her Son, its most preeminent representative, in this light, it is no superstition to teach and sing that she who is the mother of CHRIST our God is "more honourable than the Cherubim, and incomparably more glorious than the Seraphim." And when we argue that, if after the Resurrection of CHRIST "many of the bodies of the Saints which slept arose," (and some of the Fathers suppose this to mean that they arose with their bodies never to die again,) it is difficult to suppose that the Blessed Virgin was not equally honoured: and that therefore it is not only possible but *probable* that she also received her body again shortly after her decease, we are *thus far* guilty of no superstition. But when we go on further to assert categorically, either on the strength of this reasoning, or on the authority of some spurious or anonymous writing later by centuries than the event, and inconsistent with the allusions of earlier Fathers, that she *did actually* receive her body again; that she was carried to heaven by angels in the body on the third day; that the Apostles were gathered together; and that St. Thomas again doubted; so as to make of the whole history a counterpart to that of our LORD's resurrection: and when all this is popularly and ecclesiastically received, and made the subject of hymns, and sermons, and ceremonies, we must either allow that here is a growth of human superstition floating in the Church; or we must boldly assert that the matter of fact has been made known to the Church by a later revelation; and even perhaps in part (as will be the case in some other similar instances also,) through the means of testimonies and arguments which will not bear scrutiny in themselves, the premisses being false but the conclusion true, the foundation worthless but the superstructure which has been raised upon it not doomed to fall.

XII. Another source is that of connivance, silence, or management (without any actual assertion of what is false) assisting the imagination of the simple and ignorant in originating and perpetuating wonders. Thus in respect of the Holy Fire at Jerusalem, the Clergy, for whatever reason, do not teach the people that what they celebrate as a miracle is merely an ecclesiastical ceremony. And, to cite another instance, in the very remarkable legend of the preservation of the young monk of Dochiareion on Mount Athos by the Archangels, it was enough that the monk himself, and the Hegoumen, and the porter, kept their secret, and did not publish *how* he had escaped drowning, or *how* he came to be found by all the brethren lying before the Icon of the Archangels in the church of their Monastery, with the stone fastened to his neck.

XIII. Lastly, no doubt, there have occurred, and may occur still, direct frauds, in which falsehood in some degree or other has been used for a certain definite purpose: though very commonly even where there seems at first sight reason to suppose fraud, it will turn out on closer examination that the original nucleus of the legend may have involved nothing of the kind; and that there has only been a subsequent accretion of marvellous circumstances from one or more of the sources abovementioned. We should therefore be religiously careful never to assert nor to suppose any fraud unless we are absolutely compelled to do so.

In conclusion, with regard to this whole subject, it must not be forgotten that all matters of *fact* which are not actually attested by holy Scripture, or by clear and universal tradition from the beginning, are by their very nature excluded from the province of faith. Not only individuals but Councils, not only local Councils but Œcumenical Councils, and the Church herself in any country, or in all countries at once, may err concerning matters of fact, even though these last be ever so closely connected with religion. A General Council, for instance, stigmatizes such and such Popes as heretics: but it is quite possible notwithstanding that in point of fact these Popes were personally orthodox. Another Council, or the Church diffused, has acknowledged certain individuals for Saints: yet they may for all that have been sinners or concealed heretics. Certain passages are cited by a General Council in support of this or that doctrine,

or certain facts are alleged from history : nevertheless the passages may be spurious or misinterpreted ; and the facts may have had no real existence. The Church of a certain age may have supposed the earth to be fixed, and the sun to move round it, and that to assert the contrary was to contradict the Divine Scriptures : but the Church in that case was mistaken. In just the same way, whatever assertions of supernatural occurrences have been received either by Popes or Councils, or even by the Church diffused, they are none the less open to criticism on that account *as questions of fact*. And whatever developments of idea, whatever customs, anniversary celebrations, Offices, pilgrimages, or further reputed miracles, may have followed upon their belief and reception, all these things resting only on a question of fact are, together with the fact itself, open to examination and criticism, without any danger of heresy. And if in any such case the supposed fact itself, for instance, the transportation of the House of Loreto, or the Introduction of the Blessed Virgin into the Temple, and her being fed there by Angels, or her Assumption in the body, or her Immaculate Conception, came to be doubted or disbelieved, all that has been built upon such supposed facts might fall with the belief of the facts themselves, without the true doctrinal infallibility of the Church suffering thereby any danger or curtailment. Nor would it make the least difference if the Church should have decreed at any time the dominant opinion concerning any such matters of fact to be an article of faith, any more than if she had decreed the Copernical opinion to be a heresy, and the older theory to be a part of the faith. The promise which endues her with infallibility for teaching the true and necessary faith and for condemning heresy does not necessarily secure her against such errors.

DISSERTATION XX.

OF FORMALISM AS IMPUTED TO THE EASTERN CHURCH.

MAN being himself a compound of soul and body, his religion must have its form or body as well as its life or spirit: and religion is then in a good and healthy state when the inward life, whether of the individual or the Church, is vigorous enough to embody itself according to occasion in suitable forms; and when such forms as preexist, and have not by any change of circumstances become unsuitable, are used and animated by the same spirit which originally produced them.

Nevertheless, every human energy being liable to waste itself and to decay, the Church herself also, so far as she is human, is subject to this same infirmity. That inner life which in Apostolic or early times threw up such holy and divine forms, and could scarcely find forms adequate to its own strength and richness, afterwards gradually decayed, and left the forms more or less hollow and empty, but still useful to mark to a degenerate age a higher standard than its own, and to communicate in some degree to the souls of them that should continue to use them the shadow, the echo, the faintly reproduced image, of that full volume of living energy from which they originally came.

The Apostles and their company, after suffering for the first time persecution for the name of CHRIST, prayed together in the Upper Chamber on Mount Sion, lifting up their voice with one accord in the words which are still preserved to us: And "when they had prayed, the place was shaken where they were assembled together, and they were all filled with the HOLY GHOST." Cornelius the Centurion and his friends listened not with the outward ear only, but with hearts duly prepared, to the words spoken by Peter, and the HOLY GHOST fell on them

even before they were Baptized with water in the Name of JESUS CHRIST. Paul and Silas sang praises to God at midnight in the prison at Philippi, using certain words, and the prisoners heard them: And suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison were shaken, and the doors opened, and every one's bands loosed: and the keeper of the prison with all his house was Baptized. In these cases it was from the fulness of the heart and spirit that the mouth spake, and the effect was accordingly.

Nor was such concurrence and unison of the inward spirit with the outward word or act of religion, and such mighty effect, confined to cases where the words were used only once: but in the primitive Apostolic Church that living spirit which first suggested the words and forms of her Liturgies and Ritual accompanied also their habitual use.

Thus when in the darkness of the night, long before dawn, the spiritual children of Sarah persecuted by the children of the bondwoman, and from among the Gentile Christians members of divided households, wives illtreated by their husbands, children threatened or cast out by their parents, slaves oppressed by their masters, citizens hunted out and accused by their neighbours, subjects proscribed by the tyrants of this world, met with difficulty and apprehension in the catacombs under some great city, or in the retired house of some brethren in the outskirts, and the *Ἑξάψαλμος* or *Six Psalms** at the beginning of Matins were read with a devout and meditative voice by the Superior, containing the complaints and meditations of the Messiah, the perfect man, under the sorrows and afflictions of His humanity and the assaults of His enemies, all who were present knew that this voice was not only from the Messiah, the Head, but also from the Church His Body: and each one of them in particular found his or her own spiritual application of the verses of those Psalms according to the personal troubles and necessities of each; and his own comfort and strength in that mixture of more cheerful prayer and meditation with which one of those Psalms (Psalm ρβ,) tempers the others.

And when after the Six Psalms the reading was succeeded by

* Psalms iii., xxxviii., lxii., lxxxvii., ciii., cxliii. In the LXX. γ', λξ', ξβ', πς', ρβ', ρμβ'.

singing, and the Church, instead of dwelling on the afflictions of her humanity, changed her note, and poured forth in the words of Psalm cxviii. (ριζ΄.) the Eucharistic confession of her faith, with a firm confidence of being more than conqueror in her warfare with the Jewish and heathen world, and the congregation present, or the singers, repeated as a burden at intervals between every two or three verses, "*GOD is the LORD who hath showed us light: Blessed be He that cometh in the name of the LORD!*" they might feel the old synagogue to be overturned, and the idolatrous city overhead on her seven hills with the whole empire of the heathen world to be shaken to their centre from beneath.

So also in the Psalms cxxxv. cxxxvi. cxxxvii, or xlv. (ρλδ΄, ρλε΄, ρλς΄, or μδ΄,) called Πολυέλεος, sung to heighten the celebration of Sundays and Festivals; which, while similar in tone to the preceding, are more particular in the enumeration of the noble acts of God in old time, foreshadowing those of the Christian Dispensation, and in their openly triumphing over the idols of the heathen: We cannot doubt that the spiritual sense of the "wonders of old time" celebrated in these Psalms, as well as their pointed application to the present conflict with heathenism, was felt by the assembled worshippers of the first centuries. And the music to which these Psalms are sung, as well as that of the Laud Psalms (cxlviii. cxlix. cl.) the praises of which are more general, (and which were no doubt always sung at length,) and that of the "Great Doxology" carries with it still sensible traces of that spirit with which these singings were originally accompanied.

In the celebration of the Divine Liturgy the people doubtless answered intelligently to each petition of the Common Prayers or 'Εκτενείς bidden by the Deacon: and they heard distinctly pronounced "with all his might" by the Bishop or Priest those most eloquent and solemn doxologies and thanksgivings, which were at first so full and detailed (though afterwards said inaudibly, and curtailed, and replaced for the laity by singings without the veil,) that besides being a worthy sacrifice of praise on the part of the whole assembled Church, clergy and laity, they were also for each individual Christian a most rich instruction and remembrance of the whole substance of his faith. Having heard with the ear and joined with the heart in the introductory part of these thanksgivings, relating to the mystery of the

TRINITY and to the Creation, they joined also with the Bishop and with his Con-celebrating Priests, and with all the Heavenly Host assisting invisibly around the Altar, in that Hymn of the Angels "*Holy, Holy, Holy,*" &c., knowing what they did, and with whom they were joining, and through what preparatory words they had come to that outburst of praise. And in like manner, after having heard the Eucharistic commemoration respecting the whole economy for the recovery of man after the Fall, down to the Incarnation and the Institution of the Mysteries, and having witnessed the Oblation of the creatures of bread and wine, the antitypes of the heavenly Sacrifice, and the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST to descend on them and to change them, they responded with awe, but with their whole hearts, that intelligent "*Amen,*" which the Apostle requires. So too did they after the intercessory Prayers for the departed, and for the living, and for the whole Church, which followed after the Consecration, and which derived such increase of solemnity and efficacy from the presence of the awful and adorable Mysteries then "lying in open view" on the altar. And again, in the united recitation of the LORD'S Prayer immediately before the Communion, they prayed in earnest for the heavenly and super-substantial Bread, to be received by all (unless prevented by some sufficient cause,) to be the staff of their spiritual life. After so assisting, and at such a Liturgy, and after so Communicating, they retired ready either to do zealously such good works as the day might have in store for them, or to suffer firmly and cheerfully every persecution which might befall them for the Name of CHRIST.

And at Vespers, after the reading of a Psalm (Psalm civ. 97.) fit for the commencement of the day or the week, concerning Creation and the renewal of Creation, and after the singing of other Psalms (141, 142, 130, 117. In the LXX. ρμ', ρμα', ρκθ', ρισ',) not unlike the Ἑξάψαλμος of the Matins, in which "prayer was set forth as the incense, and the lifting up of pure hands was an evening sacrifice," having come to the setting of the sun, and seen the star of evening, and lighted the lights of the church, the Clergy coming out and standing in a broad curve Eastwards, sang that glorious and most ancient Hymn, "*Φῶς ἱλαρὸν,*" κ. τ. λ. ("*O cheerful Light,*" &c.) to the eternal and con-

substantial Effulgence of the FATHER, of Whom the visible light is a symbol ; glorifying Him together with the FATHER, and the HOLY GHOST, one GOD : a hymn full-orbed, mellow, calm, deep-toned (as expressing the depth of the mystery,) slow (as being contemplative,) rich with the splendour of vestments, accompanied by the Gospel and by Incense representing prayer and praise, sung by the Elders the first half standing without, the latter half after all going up into the Sanctuary, as the doxology of the HOLY TRINITY begun in the Church on earth below, and to be finished and continued for ever in heaven.

In the Greater *Ἀποδείπνον* or Compline, which is used at certain seasons, there is a manifest relic of those primitive times when the Church was in the catacombs under Jewish and heathen persecution. And it is impossible to read or to hear the singing of this relic without feeling ourselves to be as it were breathed upon by the breath of that living energy which first selected and accommodated its words from those of the Prophet Isaiah :

“*Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός,*” κ. τ. λ. In the Syriac more strikingly, “*Immánu-Ēl !*” that is, “*GOD is with us ! Understand, O ye nations, and submit yourselves : For GOD is with us !*” “*Kí Immánu-Ēl !*” This is sung first by the Choir on one side. Then the same a second time by the Choir on the other side. Then as follows, verse and verse alternately :

“*Give ear unto the ends of the earth : For GOD is with us !*”

“*Ye mighty, submit yourselves : For GOD is with us !*”

“*For if ye wax powerful again, ye shall again be broken in pieces : For GOD is with us !*”

“*And though ye take counsel together, the LORD shall bring it to nought : For GOD is with us !*”

“*And if ye speak any word, it shall not stand : For GOD is with us !*”

“*Your terror will we not fear, neither be troubled : For GOD is with us !*”

“*But the LORD our GOD, Him will we sanctify, and He shall be our fear : For GOD is with us !*”

“*And if I trust in Him, He shall be unto me for a sanctuary : For GOD is with us !*”

“*And I will trust in Him, and I shall be saved through Him : For GOD is with us !*”

*"Behold I, and the children whom the LORD hath given me :
For GOD is with us !*

*"The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light :
For GOD is with us !*

*"We that dwelt in the valley and shadow of death, upon us
hath the light shined : For GOD is with us !*

*"For unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given : For
GOD is with us !*

"On Whose shoulder is the government : For GOD is with us !

"And of His peace there is no end : For GOD is with us !

*"And His name shall be called The Messenger of the Great
Counsel : For GOD is with us !*

"Wonderful, Counsellor : For GOD is with us !

*"The mighty GOD, the LORD of power, the Prince of peace :
For GOD is with us !*

"The Father of the world to come : For GOD is with us !

*"Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY
GHOST : For GOD is with us !*

*"Both now, and ever, and world without end, Amen : For
GOD is with us !*

(And lastly both the Choirs sing together) *"For GOD is
with us !" ("Kí Immánu-Él !")*

After the earliest and golden ages of the Church, during which she was subject to persecution, and during which her ritual worship and the writings of her Saints, like their lives, were almost wholly spiritual and practical, there followed in the fourth and fifth centuries another phase of character, in which the divine depth and earnestness of the ancients, without ceasing altogether to exist, is clothed in a garb of intellectual, rhetorical, and poetical cultivation. Many touching Prayers, eloquent and instructive Homilies, Στιχηρά to be sung at "Κύρις, ἐκέκραξα" in the Vespers on Sundays and chief Festivals, Ἀπόστιχα, Τροπάρια Ἀπολυτίκια, Καθίσματα perhaps, and Στιχηρά for the Laud Psalms at Matins, and probably strings of Κοντάκια and Οἱκοι, were produced in this second period. Nor is there in the ritual and homiletical compositions of this period, though their merit is certainly of a lower and more human kind than that of the Divinely inspired Scriptures, or the productions of the Apostolic age, any appearance of hollowness or unreality. Nor, so far as we can judge, is there any reason to doubt that they who used the Prayers

and sang the Hymns of this period used them upon the whole with the understanding and the spirit, as well as with the lips.

Later, after the composition of the first "*Kanóns*," (which are sets of nine "Odes" (*ὕμναι*) to be sung with the nine Prophetical and Evangelical Hymns, the *Τροπάρια* of each Ὅδῃ being made or turned so as to answer to the syllables and accents of its *Εἱρμός*;) that is, after the time of St. Andrew of Crete and St. Cosmas, we come to an *imitative* period; in which the ceremonial of the Byzantine Court, with all its hyperbole and hypocrisy, was carried into the Church; in which many doubtful miracles and legends, and particular Icons, gained extensive honour through worldly adulation and Court influence; in which various opinions based on spurious or doubtful writings became parts of the popular belief; in which, for the sake of a certain uniformity or symmetry in the ritual, vast numbers of *Kanóns* and other Singings were composed for all the Saints of the Daily Calendar throughout the year on the model of the earlier compositions of the same sort: and the monastic ritual, calculated for communities which should employ one third part of the twenty-four hours of the day and night in the Services of the Church, was introduced more or less into general use even in common churches. During this period, which we may fix from the end of the eighth to the end of the twelfth century, we find a great deterioration in the quality of the additions made to the ritual, and a vast growth of formalism and unreality in their actual use. In place of deep, warm, and just poetry, we have often cold, empty, and hyperbolical rhapsodies. And the readings and singings being felt to be too long for a full and proper performance of them, men commonly fell into a perfunctory and merely external performance of the ritual, or of many parts of it; an abuse which was in still later times brought to its climax by the gradual corruption and change of the Hellenic language into the modern Romaic, so that not only were the Psalter and the lesser Offices, instead of being read devoutly, gabbled over with heathenish rapidity, and the *Kanóns* or strings of hymns, instead of being sung, read or gabbled in the same manner, but all this was done, and the rest of the Service was performed, in a language no longer familiar to the people, and only partly intelligible to them, nor to them only, but even to the majority of the Clerks and Singers.

But without pursuing into further details this historical sketch of the rise and growth of formalism in the Services of the Church, we will now offer some reflections on the present state of ritual worship in the Eastern Church as contemplated from a practical and popular point of view.

"God is a Spirit; and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." This text perversely interpreted by some sectaries is urged as an argument against all the ritual forms of the Latin and Greek Churches, and against the whole body of religion. In the same way another text, "When ye pray, use not vain repetitions as the heathen do, for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking," is made into an argument for attacking repetitions which are not always nor necessarily vain. And that of St. Paul, "I had rather speak five words in the church in a known tongue than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue," is made to prove the duty of attempting that which is impossible, namely, to make all the Services of the Church perfectly audible and perfectly intelligible to all worshippers, though there may often be a mixture of different tongues, and though the languages themselves may be for ever changing. Still, these perverse interpretations notwithstanding, there is such a thing as a sincere and practical desire and effort to act in the spirit of these texts. And there is such a thing as an undue excess of outward forms and repetitions in Divine worship.

It may be not uninstrusive for a member of the Eastern Church to be informed in what light some parts of his religious worship now appear to Anglicans, whose faults are of a nature contrary to those of the Easterns, inasmuch as the Anglicans have destroyed a great part of the outward forms of religion, (and for this no doubt suffer great spiritual loss,) but who have the merit of being often sincere and serious in what they have retained, and are far removed (even to the contrary extreme,) from outward formalism, superstition, or hypocrisy. "*Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*" None are so perfect but they may learn something from what is said against them even by the malice of enemies. And much more may they learn from the serious objections of erring brethren, whose very errors are perhaps only excessive reactions occasioned by the faults of older Churches.

If an Anglican then could be taken into a Greek or Russian

church just at such parts of the Services as the following : for the reading of the Gospel, and often also of the Apostle, for the singing of the Great Doxology at Matins, or of the “*Φῶς ἱλαρὸν*” on any great festival at Vespers, or during any of the Singings of the Vespers or Matins, or at almost any part of the celebration of the Liturgy, the impression produced would certainly be one of reverence and respect. On the contrary, if he chanced to be present at the reading of the lesser Services, as the Hours, or Compline, or a *Παράκλησις*, at the reading of the Cathisms of the Psalter (that is, of the divisions of the Psalter as appointed to be read in course,) or of the *Kanóns*, he would be utterly annoyed and shocked. He would say “If ever God was mocked with a lip-service He is so assuredly now, and in the Greek Church. Neither Jewish Rabbis nor Buddhist priests of the heathen can gabble over their unspiritual caricature of worship in a more profane way.” No words could be found too strong, none indeed strong enough, to express what he would feel : and the more serious and religious the observer, the deeper would be his pain and wonder. As regards some other things, such as the reading of the *Ἐξάψαλμος* at Matins, or of the Introductory Psalm at Vespers, the bidding of the *Ἐκτενεῖς*, and the responding to these, or the performance of any occasional Offices, as a Baptism, a Wedding, or a Funeral, the impression produced would vary much according to the manner and spirit of the Priest officiating. Sometimes the stranger would hear only a slovenly and profane gabbling, as in the preceding cases : sometimes the performance would not seem altogether irreligious. The saying of the Introductory and Concluding Prayers (that is, of the “*Τρισάγιον*,” κ. τ. λ. to the end of *Πάτερ ἡμῶν*) in every Office would almost always strike him in the worst light. As for the *style* of singing, that of the Russians would captivate him at once by its sweetness and harmony, and that of the Greeks would repel him by its nasal discord. But such merits or defects are different things from devoutness and irreverence.

As for the congregation, a stranger would be wearied by the perpetual multiplication of manual gestures, by the triple crossing repeated so often and with such rapidity of the fingers that his eye could scarcely follow it. He would notice, at least here at Athens, a too general neglect of attendance at Divine worship,

and the practice of coming in only about the beginning of the Liturgy, or a little before; so as to assist neither at Vespers nor at Matins. He would see men coming in not only with their heads covered after the Turkish custom, and contrary to the Apostle's injunction, with the *féz*, but even with Frankish hats, walking in and out, talking, laughing, and spitting during the Service: a confused crowd pressing upon one another to kiss the Icons at the moment that the primitive Christians Communicated in the Body and Blood of CHRIST; and numbers leaving the church almost as soon as the Consecration is over, without even waiting for the Dismissal.

And if he came to converse with any on the subject of their religious worship, as wishing to ascertain how far they "pray with the spirit, and with the understanding also," he would find that not only are the Services now, whether conducted in Slavonic or in Hellenic, in a great measure unintelligible to the people (as is the case also with those of the Latins, the Armenians, the Syrians, the Copts and Abyssinians, and the Nestorians,) but also that, while secular schools are being founded and education extended, there is little or no effort made to give to the young a knowledge of the Church dialect. Instead of learning that the Church Books and the Scriptures are printed in portable editions, and with a Romaic version or commentary in parallel columns or below, and that it is considered the first and most indispensable part of a good education to learn to read these books with understanding, he would find these books altogether neglected, left only to the Priests, Readers, and Singers who have to use them in the church; while not one family in a hundred possesses any one of them; though newspapers and other light and pernicious publications are multiplying on all sides.

Of Discipline it may be enough to say that, with the obligation of Confession to the Priest before Communicating existing nominally, as in the Roman Church, to Communicate thrice only in the year is the general practice. And morals, to say the least, appear to be in no better a state among the "Orthodox" than in the civilized countries of the West; while the higher classes, who aspire to imitate Western civilization, show a strong tendency to add infidelity to their immorality.

The abovementioned defects and scandals which would strike

a stranger are often freely admitted by members of the Eastern Church themselves, most commonly lightly, and as a sort of excuse for irreligiousness and general scepticism, but sometimes with an appearance of serious desire that religion should again become a living reality instead of an external superstition. Such persons will commonly regret, and with reason, that the Services of the Church are too lengthy to be performed becomingly; and that, though they are in fact shortened in actual use in the church to suit the convenience of the people, this is still done in such a way as to leave the Priests burdened with the duty of reading over all that is omitted, so that they who ought to lead the people out of formalism are thus habituated to a profane formalism themselves. Again, they observe that the Orientals have ever been addicted to hyperbole, and to outward expressions of affection and respect to a degree which of itself involves no slight danger of hypocrisy: and that it is much to be regretted that this natural excess should have been exaggerated by an introduction of all the overgrown ceremonial of the Byzantine Court into religion, and by its crystallization in the Church even after the Byzantine Empire itself had ceased to exist. In the same way they observe of the numerous Kanóns or strings of hymns, that though there is a great difference discernible between the earlier and the later of such compositions, yet so long as Christians were disposed to *sing* them (as they were intended to be sung,) they might conduce to piety, and to the heightening of religious feeling: but when, having no longer time or disposition to sing them, they drop down from singing to reading, and from reading again to gabbling in the church, and from gabbling them over in the Service to requiring the Priest to read or gabble them out of the Service as a perfunctory duty, such things are worse than useless: they become a snare to consciences, and a most pernicious abomination. Nor is it a slight source of superstition that thus words and ideas which were originally used freely in sacred poetry, and which were appropriate, beautiful, and edifying when so used, come to be misunderstood and misapplied in a gross sense when the poetry has subsided into prose. Poetical addresses in Hymns come to be taken as prose prayers: and prose prayers (which might be useful if said with reverent attention, and with a spirit elevated to God, whether addressed to Him directly, or indirectly through

His Saints,) become an unholy superstition when said with the idea that the mere reciting them with the lips is an acceptable service, and may obtain blessings to the reciter.

At the same time it must be remarked as another evil, that most of those who, like Koræes, have once begun to allow themselves in such criticisms, and to propose schemes of curtailment and reform, have gone too far ; and have shown a spirit tending directly not only to Protestantism, but even beyond Protestantism, to infidelity ; a spirit all the more dangerous because concealed under a great show of common sense, and critical learning, and good intentions ; and because the evils which it attacks, however they may be dissembled by some, are really more or less felt to exist by all.

On the other hand, from traditionary prejudice and habit, from a desire to approve themselves to the people, from regard to personal and pecuniary interests, and from a sincere dread of that Sadduceeism to which any admission of the ideas of criticism or reformation seems to lead, the greater number take the side of the Pharisees of old : and, without conceding an iota, defend honestly or hypocritically the whole existing system, dead, rotten, and crystallized though it be ; and are deaf to all arguments or warnings pointing out the defects of their Communion, and blind to all consequences of their obstinacy.

Meanwhile the enemy laughs, and triumphs. The educated classes despise religion and the Church ; and as a matter of course unite libertinism of practice with scepticism of belief. "The nation," it may indeed be replied, "is still sound in Russia, and in Greece also." And perhaps this is true. But when we see only stationary ignorance and simplicity in the lower classes on the side of religion, and on the other side the powers of government, philosophy, art, science, literature, education, commerce, and the natural bias of man towards material good, we know how things must end. Either the Church then must evolve from within herself a spirit and power capable of regaining the upper classes of society, or some of them, and arresting the spread of corruption among the lower, or the spirit of the upper classes will assuredly spread downwards, and the belief and practice of religion will gradually disappear in proportion as wealth, civilization, and education come to be shared by greater numbers.

DISSERTATION XXI.

OF THE PARALLEL AND CONTRAST EXISTING BETWEEN THE
REFORMING SECTARIES OF THE WEST AND THE ANTI-RE-
FORMING SECTARIES OF THE EAST OF EUROPE.

THE author of discord and of lies is consistent with himself only in seeking to destroy the souls of men, and in fighting against God. In other respects there is no unity nor consistency in the principles and conduct which he suggests to his servants. And for such men as can reflect there is no clearer exposure of error and malice, nor any more persuasive recommendation of truth, than the perception of that gross inconsistency and self-contradiction which marks the history of heresy and schism.

All men in the West of Europe, the partizans of the so-called Reformation and its enemies alike, know from what causes that vast movement originated; namely from the revival of Greek learning which followed upon the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, and from the invention of the art of printing. But few know what a remarkable parallel and contrast to this movement was exhibited about a century later by another movement originating from the very same causes in Russia; nor how these two movements in the West and in the East and North of Europe bear witness the one against the other, and so against the evil spirit which prompted them both, and in favour of the truth held in common by those two Churches or parts of the Church against which they respectively rebelled.

In the West many of the people, and some even of the clergy, intoxicated by the new light of the revival of learning, and by the multiplication of printed books, especially of the Divine Scriptures, and taking occasion from a certain corruption of morals and relaxation of discipline, and from other abuses

really prevalent, asserted that religion was corrupted even in its essential doctrines. They had the Scriptures and the testimonies of antiquity now in their own hands: they could read and judge for themselves: and they demanded not only a reformation in things superficial and secondary, but even an essential change. And when in answer to this demand the Roman Pontiff and the Bishops, with the Emperor of Germany and other Sovereigns, objected that the true religion was a thing essentially unchangeable; and that if it had really been corrupted in such manner as was alleged, it must have failed altogether, contrary to CHRIST's promise, and could never more be recovered or reformed; and for this reason refused to yield what was demanded, the people roared out like madmen that the Church had become Babylon, and that the Pope was Antichrist, and separated themselves, and came out by millions. And this separation they called a "Reformation," which upon the whole was distinguished into two great sects or families of sects, differing both in spirit and in outward forms the one from the other. For on the one hand many millions followed Luther who was a Priest, though apostate; and these preserved in some measure the idea and semblance of an outward religion, with Priesthood, Sacraments, and ritual, as may still be seen among them in some parts, especially in the Scandinavian peninsula. But the other half of the Reformation, the Calvinistic, followed a man who was not either Priest or Deacon, and whose temper and doctrine struck at the root of all those externals which the older and more moderate Lutherans, however inconsistently, retained. In consideration of this difference between the two heresiarchs themselves, and between the two branches of the Reformation which were named from them respectively, one may say that the more moderate Reformation of Luther was in a certain loose sense Presbyterian or Sacerdotal, while Calvinism was, comparatively speaking, destitute of the idea of Presbytery or Priesthood.

In Russia also there had been some dark ages of ignorance and comparative isolation, which were succeeded, as in the West, by a gradual revival of learning consequent upon the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, and the invention of the art of printing. Sophia the heiress of the Palæologi brought with her to John III. of Moscow a rich library of Greek manuscript books.

And the learned monk Maximus, librarian for a time to her son Basil Ivanovich, lived many years in Russia, contending both by word of mouth and by writing against the ignorance then prevalent. And when for his learning, and for his Christian boldness in the cause of truth and righteousness, he was rewarded with long and cruel persecutions and imprisonment, he found in the harshness of that rude and dark age an occasion not for sowing divisions among others, but for obtaining sanctification to himself. A contemporary of Luther and Calvin, he left behind him his good name and his learned writings to bear fruit and to lend a powerful aid towards a real Reformation in another generation, when there should be a Russian Primate and a Tsar capable of undertaking and effecting it. This was to be a full century after his death, when it was already understood how serviceable the art of printing might become to religion, and when a beginning had already been made under the Patriarch of Moscow Joseph of printing, though inaccurately, the Slavonic Service-books of the Church. The Patriarch Nikon, who succeeded Joseph in 1652, understood not only how important was the art of printing, but also how necessary was sound learning in order to a right and profitable use of it. Through the agency of clerks whom he sent into the Levant for Ecclesiastical study and observation he procured an addition of above 500 Greek books to those that were already at Moscow; and at the same time he retained about himself learned Greeks to assist in collating and translating books, for the printing of which he kept two printing-presses employed under his own direction. This Patriarch in the year 1656, with the concurrence of the Tsar Alexis Michaelovich, held a Synod of the Russian Bishops, and having collated the text of the Slavonic Service-books and Rituals with the original Greek of the MSS. which had been brought from the Levant, and having discovered many corruptions, more or less considerable, in the received text, printed for use in all the churches a corrected edition. For he knew that though in essential doctrine and discipline the tradition of the faith is unchangeable, still in secondary matters, such as these were, there might be need of reformation; and that a correct printed text obtained by collation of the more recent Slavonic MSS. with the older, and of both with the

original Greek, was to be preferred to one deformed by the errors of copyists or by designed variations. But many of the people hereupon, and some even of the clergy, insisted that religion was unchangeable not only in its essence, but even in such secondary matters as these. And when they were not listened to, they roared out, like madmen, that the Church had become Babylon, and that the Patriarch was Antichrist; and separated themselves, and came out by millions. And this separation and refusal of all change or reformation they called a preservation of the Old Faith and the Old Ceremonies. And the whole Schism was divided and distinguished outwardly into two great branches, different and even contrary the one to the other. For on the one hand the greater branch or division, though destitute of Bishops, preserved among themselves both the idea and function and the reality of Priesthood, together with the whole outward form of doctrine and ritual. But the other great division, or family of divisions, had among them neither Priests nor Deacons, but only a new and irregular ministry of certain Preachers to whom no idea of any sacerdotal character attached. And from this difference between the two great branches or families of the Anti-reforming Schism the followers of the one were called "*Popófchins*," that is, Sectaries having Priests, and those of the other "*Bez-popófchins*," that is, "Non-Presbyterians," or Sectaries having no Priesthood.

The parallel between the Lutherans and the Calvinists of the West and the "*Popófchins*" and "*Bez-popófchins*" of the East of Europe holds good in this also, that though the principle or pretext of the Anti-reforming Schism in Russia would have led one to anticipate for all its sects, when once formed, a narrow and bigoted conservatism (such as has in fact characterized the "*Popófchins*,") that branch of it which dispensed with Priesthood has shown a proneness to further changes and subdivisions more and more destructive of all outward religion, very analogous to the downward developments of the Calvinistic Reformation in the West of Europe.

But the contrasts and the mutual denials or refutations of one another's errors which are exhibited by the double-branched Reformation of the West and the double-branched Anti-reform-

ing Schism in Russia are no less curious and instructive than are their parallels and resemblances.

In the West (to speak generally and upon the whole,) the leaders of the Lutherans, who did not cast off altogether the idea of Priesthood, finding that they had the Bishops against them, and being only Priests themselves, took the liberty to make fresh Priests or Pastors; and for their justification they maintained (in the Articles of Smalcald) that Priests and Bishops are in fact one and the same Order, and that in case of necessity a Priest may be ordained by Priests or Pastors only.

But, that a testimony might not be wanting against this error, the corresponding branch of the Anti-Reformation, that is to say, the "Old Believers," or "Old Ceremonialists" (*Popófchins, Staroviértsi, or Starobrátsi*) of Russia, being placed in precisely similar circumstances, thinking Sacraments and Priests necessary, but having the Bishops against them, and being hard pressed what to do, though they had Priests among their first leaders, and might probably have heard the fame of what the Lutherans had done in Germany and Denmark, never admitted the idea of an Ordination of fresh Clergy by Priests only. For not all the Priests in the world, they said, without a Bishop, could make a Priest, however pressing the necessity; not though the ancient Church (as they said was the case,) had apostatized and become Babylon, and its Patriarch Antichrist. Yet Priests must be had: for without Priests there could be no Sacraments. What then was to be done? The course on which they decided, and which they continue to pursue even to the present day, was this: Whoever of the Priests of the old Church was known or suspected by them to be discontented, or to be in danger of punishment for any irregularity, or to have been actually suspended or deprived, they would offer him such and such a stipend if he would abandon that Church which they called Babylon, and join them, and be their Priest. And when he consented, the Priests that were among them first put him to penance and gave him Absolution for having belonged to the apostate Church, and then used his ministrations because he had been Ordained by a Bishop, and was a true Priest. So the true and spotless Church which had preserved her purity by refusing all reformations, by retaining and venerating the uncorrected MS. Service-books and the

oldest and blackest Icons, and by continuing to say "*sua misericordia*" for "*tuā misericordia*," witnesses not only against the Bez-popófcins of Russia and the Calvinists of the West to the necessity of Priesthood, but also most singularly and emphatically against the Presbyterian Lutherans to the necessity of Episcopal Ordination; although by her tenaciousness of this truth she is reduced to the necessity of depending for her own existence on the Bishops of the apostacy, and accepting the very refuse of their Priests for the service of her altars.

The Calvinistic Reformation in the West (to speak again generally and upon the whole,) having had a mere layman, Calvin, for its Apostle and Doctor, could not make much advantage, even if it had been more inclined that way, of the shift of the Lutherans by pretending that Bishops and Priests are essentially but one Order. Nevertheless, retaining some idea of the importance of certain rites, and especially of two which they still called Sacraments, the Calvinists found it necessary to settle for themselves how the grace of Sacraments was to be obtained. And the theory to which they had recourse was this: Dispensing with sacerdotal benedictions and consecrations, and with the whole ministry of the Apostolic clergy, they taught that under that new state of things which their "Gospel" had introduced or restored the true and efficacious, and the only necessary, consecrating or constitutive principle in Sacraments was the *faith* of the individual receiver.

But, that a testimony against this error might not be wanting, the corresponding branch of the Anti-Reformation of Russia, the Bez-popófcins, being placed in precisely similar circumstances, having neither Bishops nor Priests of their own, and considering it to be absurd and unbecoming for the pure Church of the Gospel to depend for a succession of ordinary clergy upon the apostacy which they named Babylon, and yet thinking that Sacraments were necessary, were obliged to settle for themselves how Sacraments were to be had. But though they had gone thus far with the Calvinists of the West, that the whole ancient hierarchy, having become apostate, might be dispensed with, and that the letter or form of antiquity must yield in case of necessity to the spirit of the Gospel, they stopped short here; and, thinking Sacraments to be necessary, never admitted the

idea that they could make Sacraments to themselves by an inward act of their own minds. Not all the faith in the world, they maintained, (unconsciously contradicting their brethren in the West,) could make a Sacrament. For a Sacrament there needs certain fixed elements, and certain words of consecration : for consecration there needs a Priest : and for Priesthood there needs Ordination by a Bishop. What then was to be done ? The expedient to which they had recourse was this : They persuaded themselves that there had been preserved among them Holy Mysteries (that is, one or more Hosts, smeared from the Chalice and dried, as is usual for the Communion of the Sick,) which had been validly consecrated before the old Church with her hierarchy had apostatized and become Babylon. The Blessed Sacrament thus preserved they took and mixed perpetually with fresh dough and fresh wine, so as to multiply to any extent they pleased Oblations which were already consecrated even before they were baked or kneaded. And thus they satisfy themselves that they have true Sacraments validly consecrated by Priests Episcopally Ordained, without depending for Priests (like the Popófchins) on the dead and apostate Church and hierarchy which they call Babylon ; while they testify most singularly and emphatically against the error of their brethren in the West who have resolved not only the visible Church and the Priesthood, but the consecration also and the essence itself of Sacraments into faith.

In the West the separation of the Protestants and the Reformed, though prompted for evil by the enemy, has indirectly been an advantage to the Church, and an occasion of real reformation. Both in discipline and in morals, in learning, and in intellectual and spiritual activity, the Latin or Roman-Catholic Church has profited from the dangers, the losses, and the fierce and incessant attacks to which she has been exposed : and she presents now a very different aspect from that which she may have seemed to wear before the Council of Trent. And in like manner the separation of the Popófchins and the Bez-popófchins in Russia in the seventeenth century, though prompted by the enemy for evil, has been in truth only the accompaniment and the attestation of the accomplishment of a far greater good. For from the nature and magnitude of this schism we see clearly

the nature and magnitude of that danger which had previously been growing upon the Russian Church (and through her upon the whole Eastern Church) from within ; and what need there was for that reformation which is now for ever connected with the name of the Patriarch Nikon. If the Russian Church had not then had the strength to cast out that spirit and leaven which had long been working within her, she would have become what the separation of the Popóschins was and is, a mere outward Judaical superstition, a *rite* rather than a living and spiritual religion. And the power of life which was needed to make that reformation which was made, and to cast out a spirit which was of such long standing and so extensively prevalent, may be easily estimated by Anglicans, who have learned by recent experiences how difficult or rather impossible it is among themselves, civilized, educated, and enlightened though they may be, for reason or legitimate authority to effect even the smallest reformation against the narrow bigotry of popular custom. It is true that Nikon was Antichrist in the eyes of the separatists, and true that they had their revenge upon him in this world, when by a union of their favourers with the wicked Boyars, and by the fault of the Sovereign, and the subserviency of the Eastern Patriarchs, he was deposed and imprisoned. But in all this the serpent was in truth only biting the file to his own confusion. For the fall of Nikon carried with it no condemnation nor reversal of his great work. On the contrary it only gave additional weight, and emphasis, and confirmation to his reforms. And it exhibited to the world and to posterity a contrast which deserves to be studied by the admirers of Luther and Calvin : a true Reformer ; not a man of inferior station exciting the people with bitter invective against dignities, but a Bishop, the Primate of a great empire, taking the lead, according to his duty, in introducing just and necessary reforms ; and then, when unjustly condemned and degraded even from his Orders by a confederacy of all parties, and of all the forms of outward authority, the Boyars, the Hierarchy, the Tsar, the Eastern Patriarchs, and a Synod representing the whole Eastern Communion, not inveighing against his enemies, not countenancing separation from that Church which seemed to be a party to the injustice, but unbendingly maintaining the truth, praying for them that wronged

him, and offering them Absolution when they should repent, taking upon himself to do penance for the public sins, and adding to the rigours of his imprisonment the voluntary austerities of an ascetic Saint. If a Protestant would wish to know how any really religious man, a Priest like Luther, or a layman like Calvin, advocating a reformation within bounds, and unjustly condemned and persecuted by the authorities of the outward Church and State, ought to have acted, he may find something to correct his ideas in the life of this Russian Patriarch.

CHAPTER XXII.

AN ENUMERATION OF CERTAIN THINGS WHICH SEEM TO BE DESIRABLE FOR THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH.

I. THAT the discrepancy now existing between the Greek and Russian Churches as to Baptisms administered by heretics or by lay people, or otherwise than by trine immersion, should be done away, either I. By the decree of some joint Synod: or II. By separate decrees, to be made after mutual correspondence on each of the two sides: or III. By the Greek Patriarchs reprinting and publishing the Synodal and Patriarchal decisions of their Church on this subject, and letting the older and more authoritative of them tacitly supplant the later and less authoritative as a rule for practice: or lastly IV. By the Greeks adopting a Conditional Form for rebaptizing such proselytes as the Russians do not rebaptize, or allowing a conditional sense to be attached to the existing Form, as is suggested above at p. 176.

II. That the discrepancy now existing between the Greek and Russian Churches as to the number of Degrees of Consanguinity and Affinity within which intermarriage is forbidden, should be done away.

III. That the discrepancy now existing between the Greek and Russian Churches on the subject of Mixed Marriages should be done away.

IV. That the discrepancy now existing between the Calendars of the Easterns and the Westerns should be done away by the Easterns adopting the corrected Calendar or New Style, which might be done almost imperceptibly, if they made every year to be a Leap Year until the Calendars coincided.

V. That the discrepancy now existing between the Greek and the Latin computations of Easter should be done away by the

Greeks adopting for the future the more accurate computations and Tables of the Latins.

VI. That the use of public Excommunication and public Penance should be restored in the case of sins that have been scandalous and public.

VII. That such Christians as are judged fit by their Confessors should be encouraged and exhorted to more frequent Communion: and that, in order to facilitate the more frequent Communion of such persons, the customary formal preparation, by a week's fasting and daily attendance at the Services of the Church, should be modified at the discretion of the Confessor; as is indeed not unfrequently done.

VIII. That a Rule or *Τυπικόν* like that of the Patriarchal Church at Constantinople should be made for parish churches in Russia, directing how the full monastic Services of the Church-books, especially the Readings and Singings, may be abbreviated in such churches. Also, that the Priest should be relieved from the obligation of reading over all that is omitted from the abbreviated Service, not only when the Service is abbreviated at will in a private house, but also when the Service abbreviated according to the shorter *Τυπικόν* is used in a church.

IX. That it should be required of all who read anything in the church to read distinctly and reverently; and that the Readers and Clerks should be trained to do this: and, if good Readers are not to be found, that some of the Priests or Deacons themselves, or some religious layman of education, should read; or even that the reading should be omitted altogether, rather than that anything should be gabbled over profanely.

X. That directions should be given with respect to Fasting to guide those whose health or duties, or other circumstances, or residence among aliens in religion, may render some relaxation necessary or reasonable: As, for instance, if it were allowed that such as may be living with Latins should follow the Roman-Catholic rule for the place or country, instead of neglecting the Fast altogether because it may be difficult to observe it after the Greek manner: And if for the three lesser Fasts, before the Nativity of our LORD, before the Festival of the Apostles, and before that of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the fasting of one week only before each should be made obligatory (as was

the case in former ages,) the observance of the whole period now customary being left to everyone's own will and devotion.

XI. That education both of the Clergy and laity, and of girls as well as boys, should be more generally extended ; and that the knowledge of the Church Books, and especially of the Catechism, should be made a primary part of it.

XII. That the Holy Scriptures and the Service-books of the Church should be printed in portable editions in the vulgar dialect of each country, both alone, and in parallel columns with the original text : or, where the difference between the original and the modern language is small, with such glosses and notes as may be necessary at the foot of each page.

XIII. That the foundation of Monasteries, both of men and women, should be encouraged, and full permission given to monks to possess and cultivate lands, subject to no other interference on the part of the Government than such as all other proprietors are liable to.

XIV. That some Monasteries should be more especially constituted and directed to particular ends, over and above the general end of the monastic life : as to the purposes of particular Missions, of Education, of particular good works of mercy, as also to agriculture, and the settlement of uninhabited districts.

XV. That, on a just occasion occurring, the Empire of the Infidels should be overthrown, and the regions of the East regained to Christianity.

XVI. That the Patriarchate, or personal primacy, in the Russian Church should be restored, according to the requirements of the Apostolical and Œcumenical Canons ; and that just liberty should be allowed the Patriarch or Primate and the other Bishops to hold Synods, and to make Canons in spiritual matters ; to hold and manage real property with the same freedom as other proprietors ; and to appoint, pay, and remove, their own officers ; as was the case before the middle of the seventeenth century in Russia. Or, if the present synodal government be retained, that at least the constitution of the M. H. Synod should be corrected in some such way as that in which the Patriarch and Synod of Constantinople in 1850 *attempted* to correct and reconstitute, with the concurrence of the Civil Government of Greece, the Holy Synod of the Church in that Kingdom.

XVII. That the same reparation which was made to St. John Chrysostom and to St. Philip Metropolitan of Moscow after their deaths by the successors of those Sovereigns who had sinned against God and the Church by persecuting them should be made also to the memory of the Russian Patriarch Nikon ; and that his name should be added in the Liturgy to those of the holy Metropolitans Peter, Alexis, Jonah, and Philip.

XVIII. That the inconsistency existing at present in the Books and Canon Law of the Eastern Church, and in the thoughts and language of her members, respecting the definition of the visible Catholic Church should be done away : and that it should be made clear that the Eastern Church pretends no more for herself than to be a *part* of the whole (as her very name implies,) and admits the Latin Church to be also a part ; and desires the correction in some secondary matters, not the radical conversion or destruction, of this latter.

XIX. That the mission and duty of the true and orthodox Church to preach and communicate Christianity to all nations, and perfect Christianity to all Churches, nations, or individuals which already profess Christianity but with more or less admixture of error, should be more generally understood and taught among the Easterns ; and that a spirit should arise among them prompting them to a better fulfilment of this duty.

XX. That with regard to such as are already Christians the following principle should be laid down and acted upon : That the Orthodox Church should not call upon them to condemn or renounce anything that is in itself true, or good, or indifferent, of what they have, or suppose themselves to have, already ; nor prohibit the retention of anything in itself good or harmless, to which even individual proselytes have been accustomed ; nor impose unnecessarily any new burden to which they have been unaccustomed ; but should make them renounce only what is false or evil, filling up their Christianity hitherto imperfect so as to make it conformable not to any Greek, or Russian, or Eastern type, but to the Œcumenical Creed, and discipline, and tradition.

XXI. That there should be maintained at Rome, in connection with the Russian Legation, one or two learned Ecclesiastics charged with the duty of studying carefully those questions which seem to be either doctrinally or politically obstacles to

union ; of labouring to discover some way to remove or lessen such obstacles, or some of them, or some one of them ; of making from time to time to the Roman See and its theologians such representations or explanations as they may be able to make, or may be instructed to make, towards the facilitation of union ; and of seeking or receiving from the Roman side similar communications tending to the same end.

XXII. That the origin and history of the expressions "*Filio-que*" and "*e Filio procedere*," and the gradual growth or development of the doctrine of the "Double Procession" within the Latin Church, should be more fully investigated : and that *all* those texts of Latin Fathers and writers in which either the language or the doctrine occurs should be collected, and critically examined, so that the work of Zoernikaff (who has exhausted the subject so far as relates to the Greek Fathers, but has left something still to be done in respect of the Latin Fathers,) may be completed.

XXIII. That the Eastern Church should again, in accordance with the judgment of Theophylact Archbishop of Bulgaria, offer Communion to individual Latins, whether of the clergy or laity, on condition only of their being willing to recite the Creed without the interpolation, and to look forward to the final settlement of that and other controversies with an implicit submission of mind to a future Ecumenical Synod.

XXIV. That Missions or permanent religious stations for obtaining accurate information, as well as for communication and action, should be established in connection with Russian civil authority or protection among or near all those communities which though heretical have preserved the organisation of Churches : such as are i. the Nestorians in the mountains of Kurdistan, between Mosul and Oormiah ; ii. the Armenians, whose chief sanctuary of Etchmiadzin is now within the Russian territory ; iii. the Syrian Jacobites near Mardin ; iv. the Copts of Egypt ; and v. the Abyssinians. The duty of the missionaries in respect of each of these Churches should be *first*, to learn thoroughly the Ecclesiastical dialect, and study accurately the doctrine and ritual of each, so as to be able, *secondly*, to suggest for approval to the authorities of the Orthodox Church that precise correction of the ritual of each Church, with the least possi-

ble change, which may be necessary in order to bring it into conformity with the Œcumenical Creed, discipline, and tradition : And, such correction of the Ritual having been determined, then *thirdly* to admit to the Communion of the Orthodox Church any Christians, whether coming as individuals or in bodies, who will accept such a correction of their ritual, and withdraw for the future from Communion in prayers and Sacraments with others who refuse to accept it.

XXV. That the same should be done in the West in relation to the Anglican Church ; and that, if possible, separately in England, Scotland, and America, as the circumstances of the Anglican Communion are somewhat different in each of these Countries : Only, in these countries, the Orthodox Missions should be free from all suspicion of dependence upon any political Legation, Consulate, or agency of Russia. And the missionaries themselves should become citizens of the country in which they are to labour.

XXVI. That something of the same kind should be done in relation to the Lutherans of Finland, either by a Mission in connection with the Russian Government, or directly by the Minister of State for the Tolerated Religions. For the Lutherans of Finland, like those of Sweden and Norway, having retained the outward form of the Ecclesiastical organisation, (though destitute of a real hierarchy,) and something like a ritual, and ascribing (according to the principles of Lutheranism) a "*super-episcopal*" power to the civil ruler in all that relates to the outward form of religion, the Emperor of Russia might, without any violation of their consciences, use prudently this power ; and might desire of them from time to time to consider whether there were not any points of ritual, however small, in which they could approximate towards the Orthodox Church. And thus, not at once, but gradually, either the whole body might become capable of union ; or at least the nucleus would be formed for an Orthodox Finnish Rite, which would have great facilities for the conversion of such as remained still attached to Lutheranism.

XXVII. That for all proselytes from Lutheran and Calvinistic or other sects some short and simple form of union should be adopted, like that by which the Russian Church now reconciles native Russian schismatics, the proselyte by no means renoun-

cing his former sect *in the concrete*, so as to seem to himself or to others to deny or disavow any good thing or any truth which he had received through it, but merely renouncing *all heresies*, and *particularly those of his former sect, and its Communion*, and professing to believe all that the Œcumenical Councils and the Catholic Church have delivered, and being Baptized or conditionally rebaptized, if he was either altogether unbaptized before, or it seemed uncertain whether he had been Baptized with the invocation of the Three Persons of the TRINITY and with water which actually touched him.

XXVIII. That Missions should be established among the heathen of China, India, and Japan, the missionaries in these cases also becoming subjects of the Governments within the territories of which they are to labour; and the ritual of the Eastern Church being given to the converts to use in their own tongue unclogged with irreverent gabblings or accumulations of dead and barren forms; that is to say, reduced in its dimensions by the omission of all that is now either practically omitted or irreverently hurried over in the Greek and Russian churches, and of all mere local or national peculiarities, as of singings and legends which refer to local Russian, or Greek, or Georgian Saints, or wonders, which are not of œcumenical importance.

XXIX. That some central Missionary Establishment should be created, as in the Crimea, or at Tiflis, or on Mount Athos, which should be under the direction of the Russian Primate and his Synod, or of a mixed commission named by him and by the Greek Patriarchs; the first Missions sent from thence being monastic, but their efforts being directed to establish as soon as possible, each in its own sphere of labour, a native Rite, with its own secular Clergy and Schools in connection with Orthodoxy.

Two things still more to be desired than all the above shall be treated of separately in the next Section.

DISSERTATION XXIII.

OF THE DUTY OF MAKING SPECIAL CONCERTED PRAYERS FOR
THE REUNION OF THE EASTERN AND WESTERN CHURCHES :
AND OF A FUTURE ŒCUMENICAL SYNOD.

It is written in the Psalms "*God is He that maketh men to be of one mind in the house :*" and again, "*Behold, how good and pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity !*" This divine concord of men in the House, this dwelling together of brethren in unity, which is so good and lovely, began with the House itself, that is, with the Church itself, from the descent of the HOLY GHOST on the day of Pentecost, from that Baptism in which all other Sacraments were contained. Then the tongues which had once been divided and stiffened separately into confusion and discord, were blended together again by elastic and multiform fire, which was cloven without being divided : and the nations which had once been scattered abroad from the tower of Babel were called together again to the foot of the Ladder of Jacob. The New Jerusalem, the "city of peace," began to rise from the ruins of Egypt, Canaan, and Babylon : and for nine hundred years, or thereabouts, the unity of the Church was plainly visible to the world.

Now however it is otherwise. We hear of "the Churches," no longer of "the Church." "Orthodoxy" is distinguished from "Catholicism," and Catholicism from Orthodoxy. Common sense, (so it is said at least,) learning, science, and the Bible, from both. "Spiritual religion" is opposed to "dogmatism," and to "formal and sacramental worship," and they to it. The Tomb of CHRIST, and the Eastern half of the Christian world, have for many centuries been in the hands of infidels, who alone prevent the Greeks and Latins and Armenians from tearing each other in

pieces on that Calvary where CHRIST spread His arms from the Cross to all nations, and on that Mount Sion where the HOLY GHOST came down to turn discord into love.

What is to be the end of these scandals? or what is their remedy? The Latin looks perhaps to the zeal and training of his missionaries, and to the political influence of France in the Levant: the Greek, unless blinded by narrow jealousies, looks to the growing power of Russia. But perhaps the best way for all to learn how unity is to be restored may be by considering how it was first obtained.

What then on the side of men were the conditions under which unity was first *given*? They were these: Men already prepared, the Apostles and other disciples, in whom the whole future Church and her hierarchy were contained, "together with the women and Mary the mother of JESUS," were abiding together with one accord in one place, in the Upper Chamber of the last Mystical Supper, on Mount Sion. They were abiding together there, with one accord, and in prayer.

Christians then, it would seem, should now also be together with one accord in the church, their Sion, and in the sanctuary, their Upper Chamber; and should *pray* for the restoration of their primitive unity.

It will be replied by Greeks, and indeed by Anglicans also, that this is what their respective Churches already do. And the Greek will quote from the *Prayers* of his Church such expressions as these: "*For the peace of the holy Churches of God, and for the union of all:*" "*And grant us with one mouth and one heart to praise and magnify Thy glorious Name,*" &c.: and from the *Hymns* such as these to the Archangel: "*Smite down the haughty rage of the Hagarenes which unintermittingly attacks thy flock: Lull to calm the schisms of the Church,*" &c. "*Gabriel now again announces glad tidings, the union of the Churches, and the overthrow of all opposing heresy:*" "*The heresies in the Church and all scandals do ye extinguish by your intercessions:*" "*Kill the sources of the storms of passions, and so with them put an end to all offences relating to the faith.*"

That such passages are contained in the ritual as these, which every one may well apply in his heart to the present division of the Churches, even though the passages have not historically

any such application, is, no doubt, a great blessing. But still, if we consider, we shall see that the existence of such passages in the ritual, and their private application by some Christians in a particular sense, is not enough of itself to make the wall of separation to fall down.

Our LORD says "*Whatsoever thing two or three of you shall agree together to ask in my name, it shall be done for you of my FATHER which is in heaven.*" So then, firstly, there must be a definite *thing* asked: Secondly, it must be asked not separately by individuals in their hearts, whether in public or in private prayer, but by two or three at the least who have first *agreed together* to seek the same thing, and to unite their prayers in seeking it: Thirdly, it must be asked *in the Name of CHRIST*.

Now with regard to the *first* of these requisites, that the petition must be distinct and definite, this is evident of itself; for unless it be so, it cannot be made the subject of previous agreement. Nor will a general petition for unity, any more than for grace, or for repentance, obtain effectually all those particulars which may seem to be virtually comprehended under it. It may do so indeed so far as the heart is perfect towards God, and is not improperly inattentive to any thing which ought to fix its attention, and to be made the subject of particular prayer. But so far as this is not the case, a general prayer is at the best barren, or more probably even sinful, being used as a means of self-deception, not in order to include effectually what seems to be contained under it, but in order to avoid thinking distinctly and particularly about particulars which are distinctly disagreeable: as in the following example,

A child has perhaps been taught to pray generally to God to "bless his father and mother and brothers and sisters, and to bless himself also, and to make him a good child:" which includes in one general form all that he can desire either for them or for himself. But he has been stubborn or envious, and is told by his parents to be sorry for his sin, and to pray to God to forgive him, and to make him humble and obedient and affectionate for the future. This, so long as he is under the influence of evil, he will not do. But perhaps he will not like either to confess to himself that he is so bad a child as to be unfit and unable even to pray. So he will kneel down, and will

say the same general prayers which he has the habit, more or less mechanical, of repeating ; and will even think perhaps (if he think at all,) that they contain all that his parents have bidden him to pray for ; and will wish generally that they may have their effect, and that at some future time he may be a good boy. Every one can see what is the nature of such a child's *general* prayer ; and how unacceptable it must be in the sight of God.

Just the same is the use now often made controversially in the divided Greek and Anglican Churches of those general prayers for unity which either are older than their separation from the Roman Church, or, even if later, have properly and historically no reference to it ; and which are put forward only to avoid thinking closely, or seeking to feel and act rightly, with regard to the separation and its causes.

If people were in earnest, every Christian should at the least individually pray every day some such prayer as this : “ O God, *heal the divisions of the Latin and the Greek and other particular Churches : and make me to think humbly and reasonably and piously and rightly on those points in particular which now seem to divide them ; especially on the unity, visibility, and universality of the Church, on the supremacy claimed by the Roman See, on the procession of the HOLY SPIRIT ;*” &c. &c. (dwelling, mentally at least, on each of those chief points which he knows to be causes of division,) “ *through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.*” The habit of saying such a prayer would at any rate be salutary for the individual (whether Greek or Anglican,) and would tend to *lessen* the danger of his sharing personally in the guilt of perpetuating or deepening any error or schism.

But for the restoration of unity between the Churches the prayer of individuals is not enough. Christians must “agree together” to ask it, and must ask it unitedly, if they would obtain it. For it is more than the removal of mountains, more than the casting out of many fierce and strong devils. There is however such a promise to the concerted and united prayer *even of two or three*, that if there be only two or three souls in the Greek or Orthodox Church which have the grace given them to suffer pain from the existing division, and to sigh after unity, they ought to seek one another out, and agree to ask it in concert, that is, at the same time and in the same words, and if

possible also in the same place. As it is written of individuals under somewhat similar circumstances in the older Dispensation, that "*Then they that feared the LORD spake often one to another ; and the LORD hearkened and heard it ; and a book of remembrance was written before Him for them that feared the LORD and that thought upon His Name.*"—Malachi iii. 16.

But though even two or three can pray in concert, and are encouraged to do so, even though they be lay people, or women, or children, yet when the thing prayed for concerns the Church it must not be forgotten that the lesser duty implies the greater. If a promise is given to the united prayer even of two or three lay people, much more is the same promise given to the united prayers of two or three or many Clergy ; and more still to that concerted and united prayer which is made with the spirit and with the understanding by the Bishop the Priests and the Deacons, with the whole local Church, celebrating all together the Divine Liturgy ; and most of all to the united prayer of the whole Apostolic Company, that is, to a Synod of the Bishops themselves. They were the Apostles chiefly, who were abiding together in prayer in the Upper Chamber on Mount Sion, when the HOLY SPIRIT of unity first came down on their company, and filled the House : And the promise of CHRIST respecting the efficacy of prayer was addressed directly and in the first instance to the Apostles, "Whatsoever thing two or three of *you*," that is, "of you or your successors," and to the rest who "should believe through their word" only indirectly, and through them. In whatever degree then it is a duty for even two or three of the Greek laity who seek the peace of Jerusalem to find one another out, and to pray together in concert for it, in the same and in a still higher degree is it the duty of every Priest and Clerk within his sphere, of every Bishop in his diocese, and most of all of every Synod of Bishops, and of every Archbishop or Patriarch, who with the Bishops nearest to him represents the whole Synod of any great or independent portion of the Church.

Some labourers for peace in the West have suggested that on every Thursday at the Mass or Liturgy Christians should say a special prayer for unity, and join in the Holy Oblation with that intention : and many different ways might be concerted : nor

need they be everywhere the same. For members of the Eastern Church one very simple and easy method would be the following : That a few individuals, whoever they were that were first moved to it, should agree to wear round their necks over their outer clothing a little cross (such as are brought from Mount Athos and Jerusalem,) in token of mutual concert, and for the sake of mutual recognition, whenever they attend the public Service of the Church, and especially the Liturgy : And that at the words, "*For the peace of the holy Churches of God, and for the union of all :*" at the words "*For whomsoever (or whatsoever) each one present hath in his thoughts :*" and again at the Exclamation by the Celebrant at the end of the most solemn intercessions after the Consecration of the Mysteries : "*And grant us all with one heart and with one mouth,*" &c., they should each think of the existing divisions of the universal Church, and pray distinctly in their minds for the restoration of unity, especially between the Orthodox and the Latins, the Eastern Patriarchs and the Pope of the Elder Rome.

If there is any one place or time rather than another at which one might properly wish to see such prayers offered by a Bishop Con-celebrating with his clergy and people, or rather by a Synod of Bishops, it would doubtless be in the Cenacle on Mount Sion at Jerusalem (now unhappily in the hands of the infidels,) and on the Day itself of Pentecost. And something answering to this might in truth be possible for the Bishop and his clergy in the cathedral church of each diocese, and even for a Synod of Bishops in the chief Patriarchal churches, (at least in those of Constantinople and Jerusalem) where there are always a certain number of Bishops residing on the spot, and forming a lesser permanent Synod to represent the larger Synod of the whole absent Episcopate.

With this idea, in the summer of 1850, a member of the Orthodox Eastern Church presented to the Patriarch of Constantinople Anthimus the following petition :

"Seeing that the Catholic or universal Church of CHRIST has now for many ages been divided into two great hostile communities excommunicating each other, and that from this first schism have followed many other lesser divisions of heresies and schisms, with cruel hatreds and jealousies ; so that now

at the very Tomb of our SAVIOUR, and around Mount Sion, the birthplace of Christianity, is heard rather the confused discord of Babel than the harmony in many tongues of the Paraclete, while the Easterns accuse the Latins of heterodoxy, without showing any very ardent zeal or charity for their conversion, and the Latins on the other hand send their missionaries among the Orthodox, preaching to them new doctrines unknown to their Fathers, and contending with them for the possession of the Holy Places,

“ Certain Christians, who do not wish their names to be published, petition Your Holiness that you would be pleased to appoint that this year, and every succeeding year henceforth, on one day, the Day of Pentecost, at the least, there be celebrated a Synodical Liturgy of the Bishops with special prayers for the return of the Latins and other Westerns to perfect Orthodoxy, and generally for the return of all who call themselves Christians towards the faith and zeal and charity of the first ages : that He who on the Day of Pentecost by the descent of cloven tongues of fire on the synod of His Apostles recalled the dispersed and jarring nations into unity, may be pleased even now also, in these last days, to hear the synodical prayers of the Hierarchy, and to grant some renewal of that divine outpouring of the Spirit, commensurate to the evils which oppress the Church : that so we, with all who so much as name the Name of CHRIST, may with one heart and one voice glorify His great and holy Name, of the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, world without end. Amen.”

Lastly, it is necessary to bear in mind that not only must the thing itself, that is, the reunion of the Churches, be distinctly desired by two or three at least, and made the object of prayer by agreement between them, but this concerted prayer must be continued perseveringly. When our LORD said “ *Whatsoever two or three of you shall agree together to ask,* ” the word “ *ask* ” did not mean only to ask once, but with such earnestness, and such other accompaniments, and such perseverance also, as are suitable. And if even for personal requests perseverance is necessary, (as in the parables of the man seeking bread at night from his friend, and of the widow importuning the unjust judge till she wearies him,) much more is it necessary in order to the obtaining of such great mercies for the

whole Church as the healing of schisms which have grown and strengthened themselves for many ages. The Apostles and their company in the upper chamber on Mount Sion did not merely pray once, and receive in return the promise of the FATHER; but they were there all together *continuing* in prayer (προσκαρτεροῦντες,) and waiting for the time of GOD'S good pleasure to obtain what they prayed for. And so now, if there were only two or three, children or women, it might be, if Patriarchs and Bishops are unwilling, who had grace given them to think such a thought, and to agree together to pray for union, they should look forward, not to any immediate sensible result, but to the probability of their having to pass their whole lives in the habitual practice of this concerted intercession, having the comfort perhaps of being joined gradually by more and more individuals whose hearts GOD should touch, but leaving their prayers and the association which had begun with them to be continued after their deaths, even if they lived long, in a future generation; and that not with any the less trust of being heard and of obtaining the result in the end. If this is the will of GOD, there will be souls found among the members of the Orthodox or Eastern Church which He will move to devote themselves to such prayer. And though it may seem too great a thing for an individual soul, or for two or three individual souls, to seek with such faith, "believing that they shall obtain," as to enable them to obtain it, yet they may consider for their encouragement that if only they have the grace to wish to do it, they cannot be wrong in uniting to pray for that for which their SAVIOUR Himself prayed so earnestly on the night of His agony, namely, that all they who should believe on Him (that is now, who *have* believed on Him) through the word of the Apostles may be one, as the FATHER is in Him and He in the FATHER, that they also may even so be one in the FATHER and the SON: that the world may believe and know that the FATHER hath sent the SON, and loves the Church, even as He loves the SON. Also there is a saying of our LORD which has been preserved to us by an early tradition, though not written, at least not in these words, which they that have the grace will do well to meditate upon, "*Ask the things that are greater, and the lesser shall be added unto you.*" And if we are to do thus in asking for ourselves, then, no doubt,

also in our intercessions for others, and for the whole brotherhood. And something of the same kind is suggested when we are taught that such a very little faith, "as a grain of mustard seed," is all that is required to move mountains and cast them into the sea, or to pluck up sycamore trees (*or fir trees*) by the roots, effects which seem to our natural apprehensions quite as improbable as a reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches.

But supposing the duty of prayer, and united prayer, for the restoration of unity to be admitted, and acted upon by some at least, however few at first, among the Clergy and other members of the Eastern Church, it may be asked whether there are not also some human means to which they should look under Divine Providence for bringing about their desire? And to this question every well-informed Christian will reply that what men must look forward to and desire, and move one another to desire and prepare for, is an Œcumenical Council.

Difficult and almost impossible as the undertaking to reunite the Churches so long divided may seem, there are circumstances which seem to promise that a time is approaching when a Council, if convoked, may more easily meet, and may deliberate with more independence and liberty than before; and when civil Potentates and spiritual Primates will have stronger reasons for sincerely seeking union on the basis of truth and charity.

On the one hand the power of the Russian Empire and the extent of the Eastern Church is likely to become such, that the Russian Emperor may at the least concur as an equal with the Kingdom of Italy, and with other Powers of the West, if not take an absolute lead, in the convocation of the future Council. This alone will secure to its deliberations a real liberty and independence, such as no Council attended merely by distressed Greeks on the territory of Latin strangers, and under their power, and importuned by their own Sovereign for his political necessities, could ever have. The two parties will for once meet as equals. Nor, however great may have been the extension of the Eastern Church, or the exaltation of the Russian power, will there be any fear lest the Eastern Church should be in a position to demand or usurp more than her just voice and influence, as an important but subordinate *part* in the whole. On the contrary, the Russian Emperor will have strong political reasons for de-

siring a solid reconciliation ; not only for the closer political union of his now divided Roman-Catholic subjects (amounting to many millions) within his own empire, but also for the sake of that vast accession of influence and importance in the West which he would gain by becoming *the* Emperor, the very first power within united Christendom, instead of being as now merely a formidable neighbour on the outside of Western Christendom, precluded in many ways by the difference of religion from exercising what would otherwise be his legitimate influence within it. The Russian and Greek Hierarchies too, having fallen too much under the ascendancy of the civil power within their own Eastern Communion since their separation from the West, would have strong reasons for wishing, if it could be done without prejudice to truth, to reconnect themselves with that part of Christendom in which there is still at least one central point, one Apostolic chair, where the pastoral authority, as such, has not been entirely prostrated before Kings. As we read in the history of former times that, when the Greek Emperor was urging the Patriarch of Constantinople to attend the Council of Florence, the Patriarch *had a private reason* which weighed somewhat in inducing him to consent, namely, the hope that his brother of the elder Rome might let him into his secret, and teach him how to lighten that yoke which the Emperors of Constantinople had laid upon him and upon the other Bishops of the East.

And for Rome herself, seeing not only the inroads of Protestantism and infidelity, but also the threatening waves of democracy, and the weakness as well as lukewarmness even of those thrones which are still nominally Roman-Catholic, while the whole fabric of society in the West is shaken to its base, the prospect of being able to win an accession so vast as that of the Eastern Church and the Russian Empire, the most powerful of all existing monarchs for a civil protector, and from sixty to seventy millions of Christians still living by the simple faith of the middle ages as a counterpoise to the pseudo-enlightenment of the West, will be of sufficient importance to induce the Popes, who have the credit of being sagacious in matters of policy, to seize the opportunity, whenever there shall appear a fair prospect of success, and to do all they *can*, consistently with their own religious traditions and pretensions, to facilitate union.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF THE SEVEN APOCALYPTIC EPISTLES ADDRESSED TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES OF ASIA.

IN the seven Apocalyptic Epistles addressed to the seven Churches of Asia it is reasonable to suppose that warnings and encouragements are proposed with exact fitness not only to those seven local Churches, and at that one time, but also through them to all Churches, to the universal or Catholic Church, both as diffused indefinitely over space, and as passing through successive phases in time. This both the number *seven*, denoting universality, and the reason of the thing itself (the whole book being written and preserved for general instruction,) and the authority of ecclesiastical tradition confirms. And with respect to the history of the universal Church in time, there is a certain order in the arrangement of the seven Churches and the Epistles addressed to them which shows of itself that they were designed to be considered in this relation also. It is evident at once that the warning given in the *first* place to the Church of *Ephesus*, respecting an incipient cooling or remission from the fervour of first love, suits that state and period of time which comes next after the first planting of the faith and the first beginning of spiritual life whether in the individual soul, or in any particular Church or nation, or in the Church at large. It is also evident that the severe awakening rebukes addressed to the selfsatisfied lukewarmness of the *Laodiceans* in the *last* place suits that state of things which is foretold as characteristic of the last times before the second advent of CHRIST. Thus we have already a certain suitableness of the first and last of the seven Apocalyptic Epistles to the first and last historical periods of the Church at large, which is enough to set us upon examining

whether the intervening five Epistles may not also have a similar relation to five consecutive historical periods intervening between the first and last ages of Christianity.

To those who have noticed the correspondence or analogy which exists between nature and Revelation it will be no new thing to be told that there is often discoverable in spiritual things a regular symmetry, or proportion, or harmony of measured parts or numbers, answering to the symmetry, proportion, and harmony of numbers, lines, sounds, colours, and the like, in the material world. So the seven petitions of the LORD's Prayer form a symmetrical whole, which may be represented by writing them in seven parallel lines, thus :—

H a l l o w e d b e T h y N a m e .

T h y k i n g d o m c o m e .

Thy will be done in earth, *as it is in heaven.*

Give us this day our daily bread.

And forgive us our debts, *as we forgive our debtors.*

A n d l e a d u s n o t i n t o t e m p t a t i o n .

B u t d e l i v e r u s f r o m e v i l .

The first petition corresponds as a parallel with the last, the second with the sixth, and the third with the fifth. The three first petitions above relate to what is good ; and from the highest and most comprehensive wish gradually narrow down to that which is lower and nearer to the individual soul that prays on earth. The three last petitions relate on the contrary to what is evil ; and from the narrowest contemplation of evil and that nearest to the individual soul that prays (concerning our own trespasses and our neighbour's,) gradually widen and deepen to the contemplation of the lowest depth and greatest extent of evil, and to the author of evil himself. The two contrary triplets of petitions in their inverse order are connected in the centre, as at a point, by the personal petition for our own necessary subsistence for this day, the atom which prays, and which in some sense by free will is a centre to itself, connecting itself with all that is good (even with the highest and infinite Good) above, and needing to be delivered from all that is evil (the least and nearest as

well as the deepest and most remote) below. The parallelism holds good even to the least details in the *sense* of the corresponding petitions, though not in their words or letters : so that if the third petition, which is nearest to the central point above, is divided, and has a dependent clause, "*as it is in heaven,*" the fifth petition, which corresponds to it and is nearest to the central point below, has also its similarly dependent clause, "*as we forgive our debtors.*" He who framed the petitions of the LORD'S Prayer is the same GOD which appointed the cycles of the heavens, and fixed the sides and the angles of every crystallization in nature.

With a like symmetry the universal Church is viewed, as it seems, in the Apocalyptic Epistles to the seven Churches of Asia under the form or image of a pyramid or mountain ; as it is written in the book of Daniel of the Stone cut out without hands, which smote the idolatrous Image of the four heathen Empires on its feet in the time of the fourth or Roman Empire, that it "*became a great Mountain, and filled the whole earth.*" And in traversing the history of the universal Church in time we are made to begin as it were from the bottom of the Mountain on the one side, (let us say, on the *left hand* or *Western side*, since Ephesus is West of Laodicea,) and to ascend by three distinct divisions or stages (imaged by the Churches of Ephesus, *Smyrna*, and Pergamus,) to the summit, and then, after pausing on the summit itself (represented by Thyatira,) to descend by three more divisions or stages on the other side, (namely, Sardis, *Philadelphia*, and Laodicea,) each of them corresponding to one of those by which we ascended, thus :—

4.

Thyatira.



Pergamus. 3.

5. Sardis.

Smyrna. 2. 6. *Philadelphia*.

Ephesus. 1.

7. Laodicea.

Let us consider then, according to our ability, what those lessons are which are addressed to the successive periods or developments of the Christian Church, and which so indirectly contain an outline of its history sketched beforehand by the

Head of the Church Himself. Let us do this not of vain curiosity, but in order to seek the blessing promised in the Apocalypse by applying its lessons to ourselves ; and especially in order to seek out and to apply that lesson which is more especially designed for the Church (and in the Church for all Christians) of our own period of time.

And first, before coming to the details of each Message to the Churches, we may remark generally that as on the one hand in the selection of *seven* distinct Churches in Asia, to represent the Catholic Church, there is no hint given of all Churches being resolvable into one particular Church, the Roman, so neither, on the other hand, is there any thing to countenance the modern idea of Protestants that the Catholic Church is an aggregate of heterogeneous communities outwardly separate one from another. Though the seven Churches are praised and blamed in different degrees, and have each their own particular characters, they are yet all under their Angels or Bishops, through whom they are addressed, in full outward communion with one another, under one Metropolitan of Ephesus, and acknowledging one and the same Apostle St. John.

I. *Ephesus*. All Christians associate historically the idea of the Apostolic and primitive Church with something like the fervour of first love ; with a higher measure of faith, and love, and zeal, than could long continue. And in those remains which have come down to us of the earliest Christian writers we find already confessions, with lamentation, of the decay or remission of that first love. The name itself *Ephesus* (*Ἐφεσός*) seems connected with *ἔφεσις*, the first effort of starting as for a race, or of aiming as at a mark, a word which by the corruption of a single vowel, its first letter, becomes *ἄφεσις*, or remission.

II. *Smyrna*. The word *σμύρνη* signifies myrrh : and myrrh, we know, was associated with the ideas of bitterness and suffering, of the embalment of the dead, and of preservation from corruption. And, like other spices, it gives out its odour on being bruised. With what significance myrrh was offered to CHRIST in His infancy, and on the Cross, and was used to embalm His Body, it is unnecessary here to explain. We shall only point out that as, after the primitive Church in the Church of Ephesus has been warned on account of the cooling of her first love, we

find in the second place the *Smyrnæans*, who are praised *without any mixture of blame*, and are exhorted to persevere and to suffer fearlessly imprisonments tribulations and death, and are promised in recompense a crown of life, so also in the history of the universal Church, after the fervour of the first age and its speedily apparent signs of declension, our attention is next fixed by the glorious sufferings of the Martyrs, which came to their climax in the great persecution of Diocletian, when all the House, that is the Church, was filled with the odour of the spiritual myrrh that was bruised.

III. *Pergamus*. The Church in Pergamus is represented as "dwelling where Satan's seat is :". For Pergamus was the capital of one of those *four* kingdoms which arose within the *third* or Macedonian Empire upon the death of Alexander the Great. It was one of the "*heads*" of the *third* mystical Beast which was four-headed ; and by transition* it became one of the heads

* The following account of Pergamus is translated from Strabo :

"Since we have now gone through the coasts of the Troad and *Æolia*, it will be next in order to run over the inland parts up to the *Taurus*, keeping to the same method. The honour of being the capital, in a sense, of all these parts belongs to Pergamus, a city of renown, which long flourished in connection with the kings of the Attalian dynasty. So this will be our proper point to start from. Pergamus was the treasure-fortress of Lysimachus son of Agathocles, one of Alexander's successors ; and occupied together with a mass of dwelling-houses just the summit of the hill, which is conical, ending in a sharp point. The command of this fortress with the charge of the treasure (which amounted to nine thousand talents,) was confided to a certain Philetærus of Tyana, who was a eunuch from his childhood. This man for some time remained faithful to Lysimachus ; but at length, having a quarrel against his wife Arsinoë, who slandered him to Lysimachus, he revolted with the place under his command, and suited his behaviour to circumstances, seeing the times to be favourable for such a speculation. For first Lysimachus was engaged with troubles in his own family, and was forced to put his son Agathocles to death ; then Seleucus Nikator invaded him and put an end to his power ; and was himself murdered by Ptolemy son of Ceraunus. All which changes the eunuch got safely through, keeping in his fortress on the hill-top, and dealing politically by promises and other attentions or services with whatever power was at the time strongest and nearest. And thus he retained during twenty years both the fortress and the treasure.

"He had two brothers, the elder named Eumenes, the younger Attalus. Eumenes had a son of the same name with himself, who succeeded his uncle in the possession of Pergamus, and was already lord and ruler of the places and country round about to some distance : insomuch that he fought a pitched battle near Sardis with Antiochus the son of Seleucus, and defeated him. He died after a rule of 22 years ; and was succeeded by his cousin Attalus, son of his

of that *last* Beast which contained all the four, and was one with the fourth, and which, when come to its full growth, had seven heads answering to the seven mouths of the river of Egypt, to the seven nations of Canaan, the seven hills of Rome, and the seven heads of the Dragon antagonistic to the seven horns and eyes of the Lamb. Whether Pergamus then, or Constantinople (which it may seem specially to foreshadow,) or Rome, or any other city, be capitals of worldly power within the last mystical Beast or Empire, Pergamus will here stand for any of them, or for all: And the Church and her hierarchy sojourning in such capitals, or under their influence, are rebuked and threatened for this, that some of them "hold the doctrine of Balaam," a prophet who, knowing better, taught Balak the king of Moab (a people sprung from incest) to cast a stumbling-block in the way of Israel, to eat things sacrificed to idols and to commit fornication. And here again in pursuing the history of the Church downwards we find what seems to correspond. For after the age of the Martyrs we come next to a period during which the Church and her hierarchy appear in close connection with the State; while for honour, precedence, gain, and other worldly advantages, the hierarchy are accused by contemporary writers of too often lending themselves to the powers of this world, to make the spiritual Israel eat things sacrificed to spiritual idols, and to commit fornication both spiritually by heresy, and carnally by a relaxation of discipline.

IV. *Thyatira*. Thus we have arrived at the top or apex of

uncle of the same name by Antiochis daughter of Achæus. And this Attalus it was who first of the family took the title of king, after he had gained a great victory over the Galatæ. He also made an alliance with the Romans, and assisted them in their war against Philip in conjunction with the fleet of the Rhodians. He died at an advanced age, after a reign of 43 years, and left four sons by Apollonis of Cyzicus, named Eumenes, Attalus, Philetærus, and Athenæus. Of these the three younger lived as private persons, the eldest, Eumenes, succeeding his father in the kingdom. He too warred with the Romans as an auxiliary against Antiochus the Great, and against Perseus; and received from the Romans all that had belonged to Antiochus within the Taurus. Before this the dependencies of Pergamus had been only an inconsiderable number of places, as far as the sea about the Elaitæ gulf and Adrammyttium. This king beautified the city, and planted the grove called the Nicephorium, and set up temples and statues, and libraries, and increased the city by his improvements to its present extent. After a reign of 49 years he left the crown to his son named Attalus; whom he

the Mountain, where we find in the Church of Thyatira, a name connected by sound with *sacrificing*, (*ἀπὸ τοῦ θύειν*), and incidentally with the trade of dyeing and selling purple, a mystery more difficult to understand than any other of the seven. For while the praises bestowed upon this Church imply higher gifts and merits and greater energies than are ascribed to any other, (whereas the Churches of *Smyrna* and *Philadelphia*, which alone are praised without any mixture of blame, are spoken of as rather weak and unpretending in themselves,) these praises are joined with warnings and threatenings for faults which it is difficult to conceive coexisting with such a character. "*I know*," it is written, "*thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last to be more than the first.*" What great praises are here? And yet, with all this, "He who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet like fine brass" (that is, without any tarnish of rust or impurity,) discovers in this Church (in whose walk another eye could have seen only what is great and glorious,) that she is all the time suffering a false-prophetess, called *Jezebel*, to teach, and to seduce the servants of CHRIST to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed to idols. To this false-prophetess space is given to repent, and she repents not. And thereupon she and they that sin with her are threatened with the most terrible judgments, and with great tribulation, and her children shall be killed with death, whereby *all the Churches* shall know that the LORD is He which searcheth the reins and the hearts. But to the *rest* in Thyatira, as many as have not *this doctrine* concerning Jezebel, and which have not known *the depths of Satan*, CHRIST says that He will lay upon them none other burden; only, that

had by Stratonice daughter of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. And as his son was as yet a mere child, he appointed his brother Attalus to be his guardian and regent of the kingdom. This old man died after reigning (as regent) 20 years with great prosperity. For in conjunction with Alexander the son of Antiochus he subdued Demetrius the son of Seleucus; and he was the ally of the Romans in their war against the pseudo-Philip. He also made war successfully in Thrace, and subdued there Diegylus king of Cænæ; and he destroyed Prusias, by setting against him his son Nicomedes. And after all these successes he left the throne to his nephew Attalus, whose guardian he had been. This last was surnamed Philometor. He reigned only five years; and then dying of some sickness left the Romans his heirs, who made of his dominions a Province, which they named Asia, after the name of the Continent."—*Book xiii. Ch. 4.*

which they have they are bidden to hold fast till He comes: And *then* to him that overcometh, and keepeth the *works* of CHRIST to the end, CHRIST will give the most glorious prizes, equal to the very highest ambition, namely, "*to have power over the nations, and to rule them with a rod of iron, and to break them in pieces as a potter's vessel, even as CHRIST Himself has received of His FATHER.*" He will "give also to him *the Morning Star.*" These are the very things which in another sense would be the temptations of an earthborn *Lucifer*.

That it should be difficult to understand and apply this prophecy is not surprising when the Scripture itself connects it with "the *depths* of Satan." But we may remark thus much; that a *woman* often stands as the symbol of a *city* or community, as Babylon is elsewhere represented: and that the name *Jezebel* may afford some clue to the interpretation. For Jezebel was the idolatrous daughter of the king of Tyre, united in unholy marriage to Ahab king of Israel, whom she stirred up to all manner of wickedness. She set up throughout Israel the worship of Baal of the Zidonians, and slew the prophets of the LORD, and especially persecuted Elijah (the messenger of repentance reserved for the latter days,) and practised and prospered, till he supposed, though mistakenly, that he alone was left faithful in Israel. But how can such deeds, or the permission of such a false-prophetess to teach, coexist with such praises as are given to the Church of Thyatira? This is indeed a mystery.

If we look to Ecclesiastical history, the next great phenomenon in order of time which presents itself, after the three preceding phases of the nascent, the *persecuted*, and the political Church, is that of the Papal Supremacy, as connected with the site and spirit of old Rome. And this may prompt one to adopt the conclusion that the Church of Thyatira symbolizes the Roman Church or Communion of the middle ages, and the false-prophetess Jezebel the city of Rome itself, and the spirit of that city. But even supposing that this may be so, we shall not yet have arrived at such an interpretation as will suit the Protestants. For there is nothing said to justify the imputation of a false faith or doctrinal corruption to the Angel of the Church of Thyatira, or to that Church herself, as such. Nor is it said of that Church, as it is said elsewhere of Babylon, "*Come out of*

her, my people." On the contrary her gifts and merits are extolled above those of all other Churches. And they are not *her* children, *as such*, but *the children of Jezebel* (whom she however permits to teach,) who are threatened with death. And two kinds of Christians are spoken of as existing together at Thyatira, and both of them members of that Church, *the one kind holding, the other not holding, the doctrine concerning Jezebel being a prophetess*, the Angel himself being with the *former* kind, and suffering the false-prophetess to teach. Yet it must no doubt be admitted that the punishments threatened against Jezebel and her children reflect upon the Angel and the Church of Thyatira, as it is by those punishments that "*all the Churches*" shall know that the LORD is He "*who searcheth the reins and the hearts*," and in the Church of the highest gifts and noblest energies detects even "*the depths of Satan*."

V. *Sardis*. Descending now, as on the other side of the hill, we come to the Church of Sardis, which is rebuked as having a name to live but being in fact dead ; and is warned to be watchful, and to strengthen the things which remain that are ready to die ; to remember how she had received and heard, (that is, to remember the first preaching of the Gospel,) and to repent : or the LORD will come upon them as a thief unawares.

And in fact the next phase in Ecclesiastical history which presents itself to the mind, after the four preceding, is that of a popular attachment to the forms, the ritual, and the name of Orthodoxy or Catholicism, of a general zeal for the externals of religion, and even superstition, joined with internal deadness, with a great and wide-spread departure from the morality of the Gospel, and with a general relaxation or neglect of Church Discipline. Individuals may differ as to the dates they will assign to this period, and as to the degree in which they may be willing to admit the prevalence of the evil : But nearly all will admit that a change more or less has come over Christianity ; so that while outward forms have been multiplied the living spirit within has decayed ; and a rigid and often ignorant and superstitious adherence to Ecclesiastical traditions has supplanted that living and elastic spirit which in earlier times originated or abrogated, varied, and changed, the things afterwards fixed and crystallised into a stiff uniformity.

The faults of the Church of Sardis (and of that phase of the universal Church which it symbolizes,) show a certain relation, correspondence, or antithesis to those of the Church of Pergamus, these two Churches occupying corresponding places the one to the other on the two sides of the Mountain. Pergamus was the last stage before reaching the summit; and Sardis is the first stage after leaving the summit to descend on the other side. In Pergamus certain faults of the rulers of the Christian Church were noted; in Sardis corresponding faults of the people: while in Thyatira, the apex that unites the two, both the Ecclesiastical ruler and the people, as a civil community, seem to be alluded to. Sardis, we know, was a rich and luxurious city, once the capital of Lydia, the people of which had originally been warlike but after having lost their liberty had been systematically trained by their conquerors to be slaves to the corruptions of peace and indulgence; so that the Greek historian Herodotus relates of it that all the women there were unchaste. As then in the Church of Pergamus we saw the Christian hierarchy, or many of its members, lending themselves to civil rulers to lead the people into sin, so here in the Church of Sardis we see the Christian people fixed in a lifeless and hypocritical religion of externals; zealous perhaps for kissing pictures, and worshipping Saints, and for magnifying uncertain miracles, for multiplying Kanóns, and for gabbling over Psalms and Prayers, but neglecting the weightier matters of the law, justice, mercy, and truth, and drowned in the leprosy of sins forbidden by the Ten Commandments of the Old Law. What the real source of the evil is is shown clearly enough by the words used to encourage those who are exceptions to the prevailing degeneracy: "Thou hast a few names *even* in Sardis which have not *defiled their garments*," (their Baptismal robe of innocence;) "and they shall walk with me in *white*, for they are worthy."

VI. *Philadelphia*. In *Philadelphia*, a name signifying *brotherly love*, which of itself gives a clue to the lesson intended, we come once more to a Church which is praised *without any mixture of blame or warning*; which in its position on the descending side of the hill corresponds to the Church of *Smyrna* on the ascending side; and represents that virtue which is especially sought for by the LORD and especially commended in

the latter days which come *next before the end*,* just as the Church of *Smyrna* symbolized that virtue (of heroic suffering for the truth) which especially characterized those early centuries of Christianity which followed *next after the beginning*. This peculiar characteristic virtue of the true Church of CHRIST and of true Christians in the latter ages is *brotherly love*, or *love of the brethren*, based upon the faith and fear of God and the keeping of His commandments: that is, it is the virtue contrary to the characteristic fault of the latter ages, when "the love of many shall have waxed cold." And as this characteristic fault, the decay and absence of charity, is ascribed to moral causes, "because iniquity shall abound," so we may perceive that the secret oil which shall keep the lamp of charity in the true *Philadelphians* from going out will be this, that they strive to "abstain from iniquity," and to "keep themselves unspotted from the world." Their hearts will not be given to eating and drinking, buying and selling, marrying and being given in marriage; but they will be looking to the Ark that is preparing, and desiring to escape to the true Zoar.

VII. *Laodicea*. Lastly, having come down now to the foot of the Mountain, we can tell even without looking at what follows in the Apocalypse, what will be the faults of the Church, that is, of professing Christians, in the latter days; and what sort of rebukes and warnings will be addressed to them. For we know what CHRIST and His servants have prophesied elsewhere of those times: namely, that it shall be as in the days of Noah, and as in the days of Lot: that when the Son of Man cometh He shall scarcely find faith in the earth: that before the end there shall be an apostacy, and the revelation of the man of sin: that as the Angels, the first-born of creation, fell from their first estate, and are reserved unto everlasting punishment, and as the people who had been delivered from Egypt afterwards were destroyed in the wilderness, so it shall be with many even

* The following remarks of Strabo are capable of a spiritual application: "After the Lydians come the Mysians, and the city of Philadelphia, ever shaking with earthquakes: for there is no cessation of the walls parting asunder, and one part of the city after another suffering. On this account few live permanently in the city; and one cannot but marvel at those few who do, how they can be so attached to the place, when their dwellings are always in danger. Much more must one wonder at them who first built the city on such a site."

under the last and more perfect dispensation, who shall crucify unto themselves the SON of GOD afresh and put Him to an open shame: All which is summed up briefly by our LORD in one short prophecy, that "*because iniquity shall abound the love of many (that is, of the apparent majority) shall wax cold.*" The citizens of the spiritual "*Philadelphia*" and of the "*heavenly Jerusalem*" shall be few: those of Sodom and Egypt and Babylon many: and between the two there shall be a Church of the Laodiceans, of Christians enjoying the good things of this world, judging for themselves, trusting to popular opinion, and thinking themselves sufficiently righteous forasmuch as, though not *philadelphians*, they are not openly apostate. Wherefore CHRIST says to them, "*I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot. So then, because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth. Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked: I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich: and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed; and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eye-salve, that thou mayest see.*" Such is the terrible severity of warning used to awaken the deadness of the latter days.

And now, since these divine lessons are perfect in their literal application to the seven particular Churches chosen as symbols, as well as in their more general applications to other particular Churches, and even to individual souls, and to the universal Church, both irrespectively of time and in its successive chronological developments, let us look for a moment at the actual history of those seven Churches of Asia which were addressed from Patmos. Of all the seven (whatever graces or merits may be mentioned as existing in any of them,) every one is blamed and warned or threatened, *except two*. Two only, those of *Smyrna* and *Philadelphia*, are praised without blame, and receive encouragements and promises without any mixture of threats or warnings; the one representing the sufferings of the Martyrs in the earlier ages, the other the enduring charity of the faithful remnant in the latter ages of Christianity. At the present day nearly eighteen centuries have passed since those

seven local Churches were selected as symbols ; and we have no difficulty in ascertaining from history, or, if we please, even from the very sites themselves, what has been the result with respect to each of them ; whether the *five*, or any of the *five*, have profited permanently by the warnings or threatenings addressed to them, or the *two*, though chosen once to bear a type of unmixed encouragements and promises, have since in their literal character of local Churches been permitted to fail, and have been abandoned by Him who addressed them in such gracious words. The answer which we shall obtain to our inquiry is this : All the five which were in any degree warned or threatened, Ephesus, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, and Laodicea, have long ago ceased to exist *as Churches*. Their candlesticks have been removed. Most of those cities are now mere heaps of ruins ; and of one or two the very sites are disputed. There may indeed still be a titular Metropolitan of Ephesus ; but Ephesus itself exists no longer, nor are there either Clergy or a Christian congregation on its site. There may be Christians and Priests at Pergamus ; but Pergamus is no longer a Church with its Angel, but has long since been merged like Thyatira, Sardis, and Laodicea, in another diocese. Only *Smyrna* and *Philadelphia* remain erect amid surrounding ruins ; the types of patient suffering and enduring charity. These two have preserved an uninterrupted existence : The candlesticks of these two have never been removed : And they bear still visibly, as they bore eighteen centuries ago, the type of the encouragements and the promises addressed to those virtues which they represent.*

* The infidel historian Gibbon, describing the conquest and division of Anatolia among the Turkish Emirs in the early part of the fourteenth century, has the following passage : " The maritime country from the Propontis to the Meander and the Isle of Rhodes, so long threatened and so often pillaged, was finally lost about the thirtieth year of Andronicus the elder. Two Turkish chieftains, Sarukhan and Aidin, left their names to their conquests, and their conquests to their posterity. The captivity or ruin of the *seven* Churches of Asia was consummated ; and the barbarous lords of Ionia and Lydia still trample on the monuments of classic and Christian antiquity. In the loss of Ephesus the Christians deplored the fall of the first Angel, the extinction of the first candlestick, of the Revelations : the desolation is complete ; and the temple of Diana, or the church of Mary, will equally elude the search of the curious traveller. The circus and three stately theatres of Laodicea are now peopled with wolves and foxes ; Sardis is reduced to a miserable village ; the God of Mahomet, without a rival or a son, is invoked in the mosques of Thyatira and Pergamus ; and the

Now for us, whether as individuals or as local Christian communities, every one of the seven Apocalyptic Epistles has no doubt an appropriate lesson. We have all need to remember and look back to our *ἡμεῖς*, the beginning of our Christianity, our first love and earnestness, and to search and ask our own selves whether there has not been some *ἄφεσις*, some *cooling* or *declension*. We have all need to think of the primitive Martyrs, and to seek for grace to enable us to *suffer* with CHRIST and to die with Him (since we must all suffer and die,) even though we are not in these latter days tried in the fires of bodily persecution, as the first Christians were. All those of the *hierarchy* who live in worldly capitals, or under their influence, have need to be jealously on their guard that they *lend not themselves to civil rulers* to corrupt and adulterate the sincerity of the Gospel, and to cast for worldly ends scandals in the way of the spiritual Israel. Those who have the greatest gifts, the noblest energies, and the most exalted eminence in the universal Church, may search themselves whether there be no false-prophetess, daughter of a heathen power, whom they are *suffering to teach*; to whom a long time has been allowed for repentance, and she has not repented. The Christian *people* everywhere may search and examine themselves whether they are not formalists and hypocrites in their religion or superstition; whether they have not a name of Orthodoxy or Catholicism to live, while they are really dead by not keeping the commandments of God's Law. All these lessons are still evidently more or less appropriate or necessary for all Christians, or for some, for all Churches or for some, according to their particular states and circumstances. But the *special* lesson and instruction intended *for us, and for our age of the Christian world*, is to be found under the symbol of *Phila-*

populousness of Smyrna is supported by the foreign trade of the Franks and Armenians." [Yet *Smyrna* has been preserved as a Church with its Bishop, Clergy, and laity, without any break to the present day.] "*Philadelphia* alone has been saved *by prophecy*, or courage. At a distance from the sea, forgotten by the Emperors, encompassed on all sides by the Turks, her valiant citizens defended their religion and freedom above fourscore years; and at length capitulated with the proudest of the Ottomans. Among the Greek colonies and Churches of Asia, *Philadelphia* is still erect, a column in a scene of ruins; a pleasing example that the paths of honour and safety may sometimes be the same."—*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Ch. lxiv.*

delphia. All the evils which abound, the vast and long standing schism of the Greek and Latin Churches, the consequent multiplication of more recent heresies and schisms, the increase of doubt, indifference, infidelity, and materialism, and the deluge of lawlessness and immorality which has flooded society,—all are traceable (the former directly, and even the last by reaction) to that one root of the declension of charity. And the one only remedy or antidote for all is for those who live after the law of CHRIST to be more and more earnest in loving one another. Let us only seek to have our lot with the *Philadelphians*, and we shall not be in danger either from the self-complacent lukewarmness of the last times, that is, of the mystical Laodiceans, nor from those older sins of formalistic hypocrisy in the people, or worldly subservience to civil powers in the clergy, which, though the period of their first development is ancient, are still living and widespread evils, and far from having passed away. We may hope too, though our lot be in the Church of Thyatira, to be among those who “have not *that doctrine*,” who are preserved from “knowing the *depths of Satan*,” and to be saved as members of that Church without becoming children of the false-prophetess whom she suffers to teach.

“Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not *charity*, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not *charity*, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not *charity*, it profiteth me nothing. *Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly; seeketh not her own; is not easily provoked; thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth together in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things; maketh herself all things to all men*, if by any means she may save some. *Charity never faileth.* And the Christian virtues being three, Faith, Hope, and Charity, the greatest of these is Charity.” (1 Cor. xiii., and ix. 22.)



